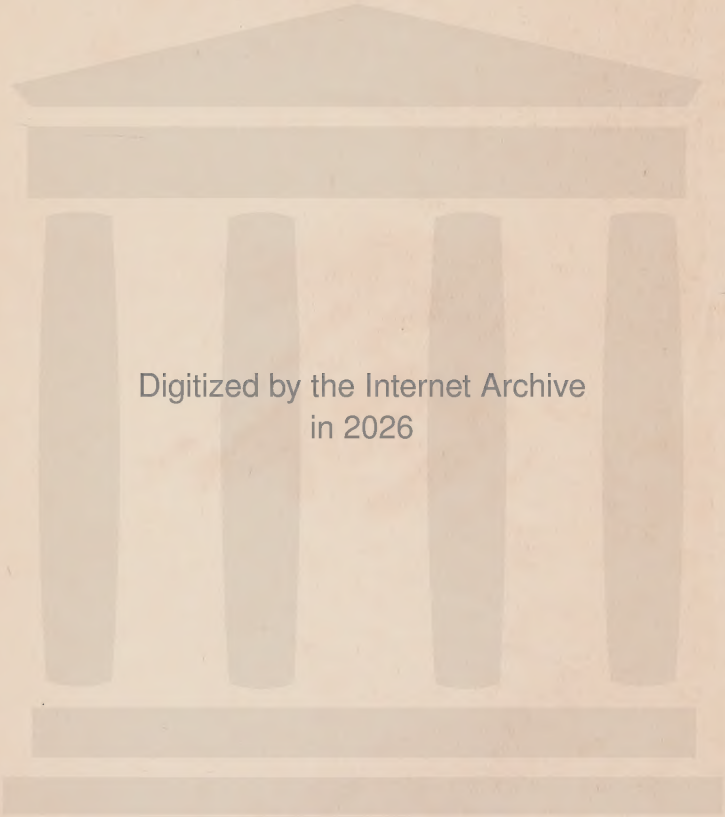
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Regent Moray.

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

TO THE PRESENT TIME

VOLUME II

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF MARY STEWART

TO THE

REVOLUTION OF 1689

BY

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WITH MAPS & ILLUSTRATIONS

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I. The Abortive Marriage-treaty.

In the importance of its political and religious changes the reign of Mary Stewart has its only parallel in the reign of David I. The reign of David saw the definitive establishment of feudalism and the Roman Church; that of Mary saw the emergence of a middle class and the acceptance of Protestantism as the national religion. While the reign of Mary forms an epoch in the internal history of the country, it is likewise the period when Scotland played its greatest part in the commonwealth of nations. From the reign of James III foreign relations had increasingly absorbed the attention of its kings, but international conditions during the reign of Mary dominated its whole policy and determined its future development. The Reformation was accepted in Scotland by the highest consciousness of its people; yet, but for the mutual jealousy of France and Spain, it is probable that the Scottish Reformation might never have become an accomplished fact. Common action on the part of these two powers, supported by the strength of the old religion in Scotland, would have crushed Protestantism in England,

with the inevitable result of the universal domination of Rome. It was as the key to England that Scotland attained that degree of importance which makes the reign of Mary Stewart an integral part of the history of Europe.

The disaster of Solway Moss and the death of James V brought Scotland face to face with a crisis similar to that which had followed Flodden. Again there was the prospect of a long minority, and again Henry VIII was placed in a position that threatened the existence of the nation. In certain respects, indeed, the present case was fraught with even greater peril than that which had been involved in the calamity of Flodden. From the relative circumstances of the two countries Henry was now a more formidable enemy than he had been after that battle. At Flodden the majority of the natural leaders of the people had fallen, and the conduct of affairs had to be entrusted to men who from youth or inexperience were little fitted to face a juncture of exceptional difficulty and peril.

In the period that followed the death of James V there was no lack of men who by ability and position were equal to the crisis through which the country was passing; but—what was disastrous to its well-being—the people and its natural leaders were divided among themselves as to the policy which it might prove wisest for them to follow. Was the country to abide by its ancient faith and its traditionary alliance with France; or was it to adopt the new religion, and, as a necessary consequence, to throw in its lot with the old enemy, England? Either alternative was one which honest men and patriots could conscientiously adopt as in the interest of their country. The undeniable corruptions of the Roman Church in Scotland, and the contemptible character of the clergy at large, were potent reasons for the trial of a new faith; while for the alliance with England there were reasons, the force of which could not be gainsaid by any intelligent observer.

From the first the alliance with France had brought little good to the Scots. Flodden had been one of its results; yet, since the day of Flodden, the foreign policy of the country had been conducted in the interests of France, and Solway Moss had been its similar disastrous consequence. Moreover, it seemed in the nature of things a reasonable policy to seek the friendship of a people, speaking the same language, living in the same island, and possessing the power to harass its weaker neighbour with the constant menace of its extinction as a nation. On the other hand,

there was much to be said for the party that wished to follow the ways of its fathers. Wherever the new religion had appeared, chronic strife or actual war had been the consequence. Such also was to be the result in Scotland; but the strife of Protestant and Romanist was not altogether evil; and it was precisely out of this conflict that a national consciousness was evolved which has resulted in that type of mind and character universally recognised as distinctively Scottish. As revealed in the abundant documents of the period, the sayings and doings of certain leading personages of the two Scottish parties cast a strange light on the public morality of the time. Yet it would be an error to suppose that in Scotland there was any pre-eminence of wickedness. Sir George Douglas and Cardinal Beaton had their fellows in every European Court; and corruption, broken pledges, judicial murders, and assassination were not peculiar to Scotland.

On the death of James V little time was lost in arranging a form of government. Cardinal Beaton produced a will of the late king, appointing himself, the Earls of Argyle, Moray and Huntly to be the governors of the realm. This will, however, was declared to be forged[1]; and Beaton's scheme came to nothing. The next heir to the Crown after Mary Stewart was James, third Lord Hamilton and second Earl of Arran; and in accordance with the Scottish precedent he was proclaimed Regent of the Kingdom and tutor to the young queen (January 3, 1543). The position in which Arran found himself would have been a difficult one for the highest political genius, and Arran did not possess even average ability and average force of character. At home he had Beaton and the whole body of the clergy arrayed against him, and in Henry VIII he had a friend or a foe according as he followed or did not follow his bidding[2].

Arran was soon face to face with the difficulties of his position. To Henry VIII it seemed that the victory at Solway Moss and the death of James V must at length have brought Scotland to his feet. He naturally thought that after such a disaster the Scottish people would see the folly of 1543

[1] There can be little doubt that Beaton did forge the will. See the *Contemporary Review* (September, 1898), where Dr Hay Fleming has discussed the question, in reply to an article by Mr A. Lang in *Blackwood's Magazine* (March, 1898). The forging of documents was a common practice of ecclesiastics all through the Middle Age. It has been said that there was scarcely an abbey of ancient foundation that had not at one time or other fabricated charters. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), p. 874.

[2] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 360.

their late king's policy and be prepared to enter into friendly relations with their ancient enemy. The numerous and influential Scottish prisoners now in Henry's hands gave him a further hold on the affairs of Scotland; and now that James V was dead, the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, might return to their native country and use all their influence in the interests of England. From this commanding position Henry conceived and carried out a line of policy which for several years to come was still further to embitter the hereditary hate of the two nations. This policy was to unite in marriage the infant Scottish princess and his son Edward, a child of five years, and on terms which only a fortunate issue of events could turn to the advantage of the weaker country.

Before the close of January Henry's schemes were in full working. Angus and his brother returned to Scotland, and were shortly followed by the Solway prisoners—each and all of them being bound by solemn pledges, made secure by hostages, to further English interests in Scotland. At first, it seemed as if the "English lords," or "assured Scots," as they were called, would be the prevailing party in the kingdom. On the 27th of January Beaton was seized "in the governor's chamber, sitting at Council"; and warded in the Earl of Morton's house at Dalkeith. At a meeting of the Estates on March 12, English interests gained a further victory. Three ambassadors were appointed to treat with Henry regarding the marriage between the Scottish princess and his son, and an Act was passed permitting the general use of the Bible in the vulgar tongue—a decisive proof of the leanings of Arran and his present advisers. The arrival of Sir Ralph Sadler on the day after the Estates rose brought another addition of strength to the English party; and everything promised the early success of Henry's schemes[1].

It soon appeared, however, that the nation at large was as hostile as ever to the English alliance, and there were powerful persons in the country who could give effect to its desires. On the side of Beaton and favourable to France and the existing religion were the Earls of Huntly, Moray, Bothwell, and Argyle, who now openly opposed the concessions to heresy and demanded the liberation of the Cardinal. But the arrival of two persons from France was to give a new turn to the policy of Arran and to lead to the

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 367—372; *Ibid.* 397; *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, II. 411 *et seq.*; Sadler, *State Papers*, I. 65.

Cardinal Beaton.

temporary ruin of the English interest in Scotland. The one was the Earl of Lennox, the other the Regent's bastard brother, John Hamilton, now Abbot of Paisley and subsequently the successor of Beaton in the see of St Andrews. It was at the suggestion of Beaton that Lennox had come to Scotland; and the results that followed his appearance justified the prudence of the step. In himself Lennox possessed no qualities to render him a formidable person in the country, but by his family claims he could be made a dangerous rival to Arran. Both were descended from the Princess Margaret, the daughter of James III—Arran through the male line, Lennox through the female. As a shadow of illegitimacy hung over Arran, however, the Cardinal, with the powers of the Church at his disposal, had now a weapon in his hands which he could use with deadly effect. For other reasons Abbot Hamilton was likewise a powerful ally. Devoted to Rome and France, he exercised an ascendency over his feeble brother which made him the virtual head of the house of Hamilton and the contriver of all its counsels[1].

The negotiations with England went on through the spring and summer; and at Greenwich, on July 1, a double treaty was concluded between the two countries. On the conclusion of her 10th year Mary Stewart was to marry Edward Tudor; and from the date of the treaties there was to be inviolable peace till a year after the death of one or other of the parties. The terms of the marriage-treaty were far from meeting Henry's wishes. He had originally insisted that Mary should at once be put in his hands, and that as a condition of the alliance the Scots should break their ancient league with France. The Scots had yielded neither of these two points: Mary was to remain in Scotland till the time of her marriage, and France was to be included in the treaty of peace. Nevertheless, in the very fact that a marriage-treaty had been effected, Henry had gained an important point, and with the influence he could exert on the affairs of Scotland, he might hope that sooner or later he would compass the end at which he was aiming[2].

While these negotiations had been proceeding, the party favourable to France had not been idle. Before the close of April, it had been observed that Arran was wavering in his disposition towards England. French gold was being poured into the country as liberally as English, and it was 1543

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 27; Laing's *Knox*, I. 105, 106; *Hamilton Papers*, I. 419.
[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, XIV. 786—796.

believed that the Duke of Guise, the brother of Mary of Lorraine, was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to sail with a great armament for Scotland. Above all, Beaton was at large in the beginning of April, and speedily had forces at work against which the Governor made head in vain. A great gathering of the clergy which immediately met at St Andrews resolved to devote their own and the Church plate to defeat the objects of Henry; and the appearance of a French fleet off the east coast at the end of June further strengthened the Cardinal's hands. By a bold and sudden stroke he brought matters to a point between himself and Arran. On the 21st of July, attended by the Earls of Huntly, Lennox, Argyle, and Bothwell, he entered Linlithgow at the head of 6000 or 7000 men. In accordance with the time-honoured Scottish precedent his object was to seize the young queen, then residing in the palace of that town, and thus to give his actions the due form of law. The palace was strongly fortified, however, and could not be taken without some delay. But he was now in a position to effect his purpose without recourse to actual fighting. In spite of the counsels and exhortations of Sadler, Arran entered into negotiations with the Cardinal which ended in a decisive triumph for the party of France. The queen was to be taken from his custody and placed in the charge of four persons, two of whom were to be named by himself and two by his opponents; and for the administration of affairs a council was to be appointed as a check on his future conduct. On the 26th of July the queen was removed from Linlithgow to Stirling, and was thus secured from any desperate expedient on the part of the English king[1].

1543

The conduct of Arran might have exasperated a less irascible monarch than Henry. In the late arrangement between the two Scottish parties there had been no talk of breaking the English alliance; and on the very day the queen had been taken to Stirling peace between the two countries had been proclaimed in the High Street of Edinburgh. A month later (August 25), in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, Arran solemnly ratified the Greenwich treaties, though it is to be noted that only those favourable to England put in their appearance. But by the middle of September a succession of events was reported to Henry which awoke in him all the wrath of which he was capable. He had at first been opposed to Arran's appointment as Regent, but he had since done his utmost to secure his support. He had supplied

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 505; *Ibid.* 384; 512; 590 *et seq.*; 597.

him with money; he had offered his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to his eldest son; and he had proposed to make him king of Scotland beyond the Forth. But after long wavering Arran at length succumbed to the predominance of the Cardinal. On the 4th of September they met at Falkirk, and in the evening of the same day proceeded in company to Stirling, where they were received by Lennox, Huntly, Argyle, and Bothwell. The Cardinal's triumph was complete: on the 8th Arran did penance for his apostasy in the Church of the Franciscans in Stirling—Bothwell holding the towel over his head as he received the sacraments; and on the following day the queen was crowned in the chapel of Stirling Castle. As the pledge of Arran's submission, all the strong places in the country were placed in Beaton's hands to do with them what he pleased. Arran was still to remain the nominal head of the kingdom, but he was to be directed by a council, of which the Queen-mother and Beaton were to be members, together with certain bishops, the large majority of whom were in the interests of France[1].

The late revolution had proved that Beaton was stronger than Arran; yet there was a powerful party in the country whose interests and whose leanings were all with England. To this party belonged the Earls Angus, Glencairn, Marischal, Cassillis, and Rothes, with a large body of the lesser barons; and in Sir George Douglas it possessed a representative who was a match for the Cardinal himself in craft and resolution. An important accession to its strength now made the party still more formidable. The Earl of Lennox, having now served Beaton's purpose, was cast aside as no longer of primary importance, and he turned to England at once to find his revenge and to further his interests. On his return to Scotland, he had been led to expect that he might marry the Queen-mother and take the place of Arran as regent. Having been fooled by the Cardinal, he now bethought him that he might attain his ends by a different road. By a marriage with Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of the Earl of Angus, and the niece of Henry, he might still outwit the Cardinal and become the first person in the country. In the beginning of October he was able to do a piece of service for Henry which greatly commended him to that king. A fleet of seven French ships arrived at Dunbarton, bringing money and munitions of war and having on board two ambassadors from France and a papal legate, Marco

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 363; 626; 501; II. 38.

Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia. Having received early news of its arrival, Lennox and Glencairn contrived to possess themselves of the money and stores that had been intended to strengthen the French party in Scotland[1].

The drift of events, however, still showed that the advantage lay with the friends of France. Lords Somerville and
1543 Maxwell were seized on their way to England with treasonable papers and lodged in Edinburgh Castle. So strong was the feeling of the citizens of Edinburgh against Henry that in the beginning of November his ambassador Sadler was forced to seek refuge in Tantallon, the stronghold of the Douglases. Towards the end of the same month Arran and the Cardinal went in company to Dundee and laid hands on three prominent supporters of England—the Earl of Rothes, Lord Gray, and Balnaves—the last well known through his association with John Knox. The Parliament that met on December 3 carried out all the wishes of Beaton and put the seal to his policy. Its most important business was the matter of the late treaties of peace and marriage with England. The course of events had proved that, on the part of the Scots, these treaties had been sanctioned against the will of the nation. In now declaring them null and void, however, a plausible pretext had to be found to place before the world. It was declared that before the treaties were ratified, the king of England had seized certain Scottish ships and had not yet restored them. Other legislation was all in the same direction. The ancient treaties with France were renewed; stringent laws against heresy were passed; and Beaton was made Lord Chancellor of the kingdom[2].

Having thus made his ground sure, the Cardinal proceeded with his policy of stamping out all novelties in politics and religion. It was the spread of heresy that now received his special attention. During the last years of James V Beaton had already shown what heretics had to expect at his hands; but the burnings of 1534 and 1540 had not checked the progress of the new faith. In Arran's Parliament of March, 1543, it had been made lawful to translate the Bible into the vulgar tongue; and the concession responded to a widespread demand. If a cart-load of Bibles were sent to Scotland, the English Privy Council was told "they would be bought every one." Already, also, there were ominous indications

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, II. 92, 93; 103.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 29; *Hamilton Papers*, II. 136, 137; *Ibid.* 187; *Acts of Parl. of Scotland.*

that the populace was ripening for that work of spoliation and destruction which they carried out so effectually when the change of religion actually came. In Perth and Dundee sacrilegious hands had been laid on the property of the Church; and the example set by these towns became an alarming precedent for the rest of the country. The Papal legate, Grimani, who had come to Scotland in October, 1543, bore striking testimony to the alarming religious state of its people. But for the special interposition of God, he declared, Scotland would soon be in as bad a case as England itself. But, as affairs now stood, every deserter from Rome was an accession to the English party. There was, therefore, a double reason why the Cardinal should do his utmost to make an end of all heresy. In the vigorous crusade on which he now entered he was attended by Arran as the secular head of the kingdom—doubtless unwillingly, for whatever his faults or virtues, the unhappy governor had not the soul of an inquisitor. Dundee and Perth were the two hotbeds of heresy, and thither, towards the end of January, 1544, they made their progress. Dundee received the first lesson, but it was at Perth that the terrors of the law were most fully revealed. Three men and one woman were there publicly executed for heretical opinions—with what result was to be seen before many years. In Perth it was that John Knox, on his final return to Scotland in 1559, made that beginning of his work which was to be the end of the ancient Church in Scotland[1].

The opening of the year 1544 saw the decisive triumph of the new government over its political opponents. The English lords had not acknowledged the late revolution; 1544 and, on the 10th of January, Angus, Lennox, Glencairn, and Cassillis brought together a considerable force at the town of Leith. Arran and the Cardinal were then in Edinburgh, and it was the hope of the insurgents to draw them out of the city and to try the issue of a battle. Their hope proved to be vain; and, as they could not hold their forces together, they were driven to make the best bargain they could. The terms they accepted implied the ruin of their party. They were to abandon the English alliance, and "to take a plain part in defence of Scotland." As a pledge of their good faith, the Douglases were either to give up Tantallon Castle or put the two sons of Sir George Douglas in the hands of the Governor—an undertaking which Sir George eluded by giving

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 445; Stevenson, *Mary Stewart: A Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life*, p. 51; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 30; Knox, *Works*, I. 117.

up himself. For a time Lennox still continued to give trouble, but by the beginning of April he also was effectually brought to submission. Having fortified himself in the Castle of Glasgow, he was there besieged by Arran, the Cardinal, and the lords of their party, and after a sanguinary siege he was forced to surrender—eighteen of his followers being hanged as traitors[1].

The French party now appeared to have the country at their will, but a terrible reckoning was at hand. The "revolt" of Arran, as it was called, threw Henry VIII into a paroxysm of rage; and Henry's passions were as persistent as they were violent. One of the great objects of his life had been the fusion of the two countries through the means of a marriage settlement; and, at the moment when he seemed within reach of his end, the defection of Arran had ruined all. Moreover, the new turn of affairs in Scotland was specially inopportune. At this moment Henry was at war with France, and again as of old the Scots would be a thorn in his side. Revenge and necessity, therefore, alike drove him to seek the chastisement of a people who had given him so much trouble in the past, and who had now added mockery to their refusal of all his overtures. Circumstances did not permit immediate vengeance, but it was never out of his thoughts till the fitting moment came. In December he declared war unless the Greenwich treaties were accepted, yet he still delayed to strike. The Emperor Charles was now his ally against France, and he tried hard but unsuccessfully to persuade Charles to aid him in chastising France's ancient ally. The tidings that the English lords had gone over to the enemy at length determined him to postpone his reckoning no longer. Through the opening months of 1544 he had taken counsel with those experienced in the Scottish wars; and by the end of April his plans were matured and his means were ready.

On Sunday, the 4th of May, an English fleet appeared off Newhaven in the Firth of Forth, bringing the veteran Earl of Hertford at the head of a force equal to the execution of all his master's purposes. The Governor and Beaton, with a hastily gathered army, faced him between Leith and Edinburgh, but after a feeble show of fight they fled together to Linlithgow, leaving Hertford to work his will. Leith was first taken, and the capture of Edinburgh immediately followed. It was Henry's wish that the Castle should be seized and garrisoned with English troops, but Hertford found that this would be a work

1544

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, II. 250; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 31.

of time which in the end might turn to his own discomfiture. As far as was in his power, however, he made the weight of his arm felt. Within a circuit of five miles the country was laid waste, and the palace of Holyrood and the town itself given to the flames—the women, he reported, exclaiming as they watched the work of destruction, "Wo worth the Cardinal!" This part of his enterprise accomplished, he took his way home by land, and, as was then the custom in every Christian country, he visited on the innocent people the sins of their rulers. His line of march was marked by a series of blackened villages. Musselburgh, Preston, Seaton, Haddington, and Dunbar were among the places that suffered; and on the 18th of May, at the close of his destroying career, he could tell his master "that the like devastation had not been made in Scotland these many years[1]."

The country was now at war with England, and only war was wanting to crown its misery. The invasion of Hertford, however, would appear to have had one good result: 1544 it reconciled for a time the leaders of the French and English parties. While Hertford was in the country, Angus, the lords Maxwell and Gray, and Sir George Douglas were released from their ward, and so conducted themselves that Henry could only count on Glencairn and Lennox as representing his interests in Scotland. But the healing of this division only issued in another which was equally disastrous to unity of action. Since the death of James V the Queen-mother had played but a secondary part in public affairs; but, as her subsequent career was to show, she had both the ambition and the capacity to be the head of the State. Apparently she now saw an opportunity of attaining this end, and she entered into an alliance, which in view of the past relations of the two parties is sufficiently startling. In concert with the Douglases she made an attempt to displace the Regent Arran on the ground of his incompetency, and to take his office upon herself. It was at the end of May that the scheme took definite shape; and for some months the two parties faced each other. So equal were they in strength that each professed to hold a Parliament in November to give effect to their schemes. Supported by Beaton, however, Arran carried the day. At a meeting of Estates on November 6 he was confirmed in his office, the intended Parliament of the Queen-mother was denounced as illegal, and the Douglases were declared guilty of treason. Thus thwarted in her ambition,

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, II. 360 *et seq.*

Mary of Lorraine had to wait ten years till a more favourable opportunity came[1].

In these distracted counsels it was fortunate that only two of the English lords took up arms against their country—Glencairn and Lennox. In May Glencairn collected a body of his adherents at Glasgow, but was defeated with heavy loss by the Governor. Lennox was now bound to England by his betrothal to Henry's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, and he was sparing no pains to prove his gratitude. His efforts were as unsuccessful as those of Glencairn. In an attempt which he made in August to capture the Castle of Dunbarton he was repulsed and forced to take refuge in England. It was from Henry's own soldiery, however, that the country had most to fear and most to suffer. A large tract of the Border country was now in the hands of the English, and many of the inhabitants even wore the red cross in token of their changed allegiance. Through the summer and autumn English raids were incessant, and in November the Abbey of Coldingham was captured and garrisoned. On the part of the Scots there was no concerted and vigorous action. In July the Earl of Angus was made lieutenant of the Borders, but he inflicted no check on the invaders, and failed in the attempt to recover Coldingham Abbey[2].

1545

The year 1545 was signalized by three events, one of which left an ineffaceable mark on the unfortunate country. From Coldingham and other centres now in their possession, the English border leaders seized every opportunity of working havoc in the neighbouring districts; and continued success had made them careless and overweening. It is even said that Sir Ralph Eure, the English Warden of the Middle March, obtained a grant from Henry of all the lands he could conquer in the Merse and Teviotdale. "If they come to take seisin[3] in my lands," the Earl of Angus is reported to have exclaimed, "I shall bear them witness to it, and perhaps write them an instrument with sharp pens and red ink." The English leaders were indeed to learn that they had presumed too far on the impotence of the Scots. Towards the end of February, the Governor Arran, accompanied by the Earls of Angus and Bothwell, and other nobles, led a strong force towards the Border with the purpose of chastising their countrymen who had given in their allegiance to England.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 33—36; *Privy Council Register*, I. 2 (note).
[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 32, 33; *Hamilton Papers*, II. 416; *Ibid.* 453, 454.
[3] In mediæval law *seisin* or *sasine* means possession.

On receiving the tidings of this expedition, Sir Ralph Eure, with an army of 3000 men, made haste to the protection of his Scottish allies. At Jedburgh he learned that the enemy were lying at Melrose, and he at once set out to meet them. But the Scots had a design of their own, and when Eure arrived no enemy was to be seen. Having given Melrose to the flames, Eure, at nine in the morning of February 27th, began his march back to Jedburgh. It was now that the Scots put in force their ancient tactics. With increasing numbers they waylaid the enemy, and at length on the moor above the village of Ancrum, some three miles from Jedburgh, they forced on a battle in circumstances specially favourable to themselves. The English were at a disadvantage from the outset, and, when in the middle of the fight the English Scots deserted to their countrymen, their discomfiture was complete. The defeat at Ancrum was one of the severest checks the English ever received on the Border. Eure himself, Sir Brian Layton, another notable Border leader, and almost every person of account in the English host, were slain, while the loss of the Scots was trifling alike in number and the importance of those who fell. In their jubilation at their notable victory Angus and Arran fell upon each other's necks, the latter exclaiming that the loyalty of Angus was now beyond suspicion[1].

The disaster to his arms at Ancrum was at this moment specially unpleasant for the English king. His late alliance with the Emperor against Francis I was now at an end, and he was fighting France single-handed. In the spring of 1545 there were rumours of a French invasion, which actually took place in July; and it was further bruited that a great French armament was about to be sent to Scotland. In these circumstances Henry once more made overtures of peace and alliance to the Scots. To a convention held at Edinburgh on the 17th of April the Earl of Cassillis bore a message from him to the Scottish government. If they would confirm the Greenwich treaties, they were told, Henry was willing to condone their late offences and to treat them as friends and allies. But the French Scots were in no mood to listen to these proposals. They were elated by the success at Ancrum, and they counted on the speedy arrival of a powerful reinforcement from France. Henry's offers were decisively rejected, and at a later convention it was arranged that a Scottish army should assemble on Roslin Moor by the 28th of July to co-operate with the expected auxiliaries from France[2].

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, II. 562—569.

[2] Tytler, III. 31 (Edit. 1873).

In the beginning of May the French fleet arrived, bringing men, money, and arms on a scale that promised great achievements. An experienced captain, Lorges de Montgomery, led the French force, which consisted of 3000 foot and 500 horse. On the 9th of August the united armies, to the number of 6000 men, marched towards the Border; but the result was what had invariably happened when Frenchmen had appeared on Scottish soil. Inherent incompatibility had on previous occasions produced dissensions between the allies; but, as things now stood, there were special causes of misunderstanding. Alike from interest and conviction the Scots who were friendly to England could not look with approval on the threatened ascendency of France. However it may have been, the imposing force of the Scots and their allies accomplished no great action. The English Border was crossed, but within four days the combined host retraced its steps, and disbanded without further achievement. The Frenchmen lingered on in Scotland, and their experience was similar to that of all previous bands of their countrymen. "That winter following," says Knox, "so nurtured the Frenchmen that they learned to eat (yea, to beg) cakes which at their entry they scorned. Without jesting they were so miserably entreated that few returned to France again with their lives[1]."

1545

The clouds that had hung over England in the spring had now cleared away. The threatened French invasion had been attempted and had failed; and the enterprise of De Montgomery had effected little for the Scots. Henry was now at his leisure, therefore, to consider plans of revenge, and he again entrusted their execution to the experienced Hertford. With a motley host of English, Irish, Germans, French, Spanish, Italians, and Greeks, that leader crossed the Border near Wark, and proceeded to the work of destruction. It was the month of September; but the harvest was late, and the time had been deliberately chosen. Hertford's achievements answered all his master's expectations. The Scots themselves testified that they had never before been "so burned, scourged, and punished"; and Hertford's grim catalogue of his own atrocities confirms their testimony. Five market towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, sixteen fortified places made part of the bill of destruction. But he left other marks of his terrible progress which commemorate to the present day the wrath of his master and his own faithful service.

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 39; *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, II. 595, 596; Lemon, *State Papers*, V. 541; Knox, I. 123.

As heretics, the English Border leaders had ceased to make any distinction between sacred and secular places. The ruin of the Abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh, and Coldingham was the work of Hertford's miscellaneous host and not of the followers of John Knox, as till recent years was the accepted tradition of Scottish history[1].

It is a singular testimony to Scotland's powers of resistance that even in this hour of extremity Henry formed no deliberate plans for her conquest. His hope was that the nation would at length come to see that there was no alternative but to throw over France and make the best terms she could with himself. Chastisement and not subjugation was his policy, and he steadily pursued his relentless purpose. Unsatisfied with the late performances of Hertford, he meditated further blows, nearer the heart of the country, and he found allies in Scotland itself. Since the death of James V the chiefs of the Western Islands had been in his pay, and at this period it seemed that they were likely to do him effective service. In concert with Lennox and Glencairn they arranged an attack on the west coast with the special object of capturing Dunbarton Castle. But the enterprise miscarried, and the castle, though for a time in the hands of Henry's allies, was speedily recovered by the Scottish Regent. Another Scot, Lord Maxwell, did him a similar abortive service. Maxwell's three great castles of Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Threave were special objects of Henry's desire; and their owner was constrained to place them in his hands. But Arran and his supporters displayed unexpected vigour; and in the month of November all three strongholds were recovered and placed in the keeping of loyal garrisons[2].

II. George Wishart and Cardinal Beaton.

The year 1546 saw two events through which, in the words of a contemporary, "all things were turned to a new purpose"—the execution of George Wishart and the murder of Cardinal Beaton. In Scotland, as we have seen, many had already suffered for their faith, but the circumstances of the

1546

[1] Lemon, *State Papers*, v. 513—529; Haynes, *State Papers*, pp. 52—54; *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, I. 272—276.

[2] Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 168 *et seq.*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 41.

career and death of Wishart make him an important historical figure. Alike by his training and his associations, he was a person to be reckoned with by the guardians of the old religion. He was educated in all the learning of the time, and was possessed of all the fervour and eloquence of a great popular leader. In 1538 he had been driven from Scotland on account of his heretical opinions, and had subsequently travelled in England, Germany, and Switzerland. He was intimately associated with the leaders of the "assured Scots," and his final return to Scotland was in the company of certain of their number. The boldness with which he proceeded to preach the new doctrine must have satisfied Beaton that he was not a person to be left at large. Stringent laws against heresy, we have seen, had been passed in December, 1543, and enough had been done to prove that they were not to be a dead letter. Risking all these terrors, Wishart publicly preached the new doctrines in Montrose, Dundee, and Ayrshire. The Cardinal, however, was only waiting his opportunity, and it came at length. With the approval of certain gentlemen of East Lothian, all of them bound to England, and supporters of the new faith, Wishart carried his gospel to the town of Haddington, where among his hearers was John Knox, who had the duty of bearing a two-handed sword, "which commonly was carried with the said Master George." As Haddington was in the diocese of St Andrews, Beaton had a special interest in preventing a thief from breaking into his fold, and he found a secular instrument to give effect to his spiritual anxiety. The Earl of Bothwell was the great feudal potentate of the district, and on the 16th of January, 1546, he placed Wishart in the Cardinal's hands. His fate was a foregone conclusion, and on the 1st of March he sealed his testimony in front of Beaton's own castle of St Andrews[1].

1546 It was speedily seen that alike in Beaton's own interest and that of his Church the death of Wishart had been a momentous blunder. Within less than three months the fate that had so long been dogging the Cardinal's steps at length came up with him. Assassination as a means of cutting off a troublesome enemy, who could not otherwise be reached, was approved by every Christian Court in Europe throughout the 16th century. The devout Philip II put it in practice as well as the cynical Catherine de Medicis. Since Beaton had entered public

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 41; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II. 1267, 1268 (Edit. 1583); Knox, I. 125 *et seq.*

George Wishart.

life he had set himself to thwart the plans of Henry VIII, and he had now apparently triumphed in the long contest of force and guile. Even during the reign of James V Henry had employed means to entrap his enemy. At length, in April, 1544, shortly before Hertford's descent on Leith, a proposal was made to him which promised to satisfy his desires. The proposal came from Alexander Crichton, laird of Brunston in Midlothian, a person favourably disposed alike to England and Protestantism. Through the agency of "a Scottish man called Wysshert" Brunston sent a communication to Hertford, desiring him to procure his agent an interview with Henry. When Hertford was informed of the object of Wysshert's errand, he had no hesitation in bringing about the desired interview. Its object, as Hertford had learned, was two-fold. Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange, late Treasurer of Scotland, Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, and John Charteris, undertook to apprehend or slay the Cardinal if they could count on Henry's approval and support; and, further, a number of Scots, among whom was the Earl Marischal, were prepared to destroy the Cardinal's abbey and town of Arbroath, and "all the other Bishops' and Abbots' houses[1]."

Brunston's plot had the hearty approval of Henry and his Council, but it was a delicate business to carry through, and nothing further came of it. In the following year (May, 1545), a proposal similar to that of Brunston came from a higher quarter. The Earl of Cassillis, who was one of the Solway captives and an "assured Scot," offered to kill the Cardinal if Henry would approve and seal his approval with a reward. Cassillis also received encouragement; but Henry, though he was fully informed of the offer, was scrupulous about showing his hand, and Cassillis seemed to have considered his guarantee unsatisfactory. In July of the same year Brunston again came forward with renewed offers to rid Henry of his great enemy. Sadler was entrusted with the delicate negotiations, and he conducted them with a skill worthy of his experience and reputation. The king's "gracious nature and goodness," he wrote to Brunston, would not permit him to meddle with such a business; but if he (Sadler) were in Brunston's place the first thing he would earnestly attempt would be to please God and do good to his country by killing the Cardinal. The correspondence was carried on into the autumn; but it then breaks off, and, as far as is known, these schemes of Cassillis and Brunston

[1] Lemon, *State Papers*, v. 377, 378; Haynes, *State Papers*, pp. 32, 33.

had no direct connection with the tragedy of the following year. What is noteworthy in the whole correspondence is the fact that King Henry and his Council, composed of the highest temporal and spiritual peers of England, should in cold blood have approved a proposal to murder an enemy who was otherwise beyond their reach[1].

1546 But the Cardinal had made so many enemies that the wonder is that in feudal Scotland of the 16th century he had not been cut off long before. To certain honourable men and patriots he was hateful as the mainstay of a ruinous and impossible public policy; and to those of the new religion he was the incarnation of all that was heinous in the ancient superstition. Others owed him a grudge for his ambition and avarice, which excluded all but himself and his creatures from a due share in place and authority; and some, the most dangerous of all, he had made personal enemies whose feelings could be satisfied with nothing short of his blood. He was well aware of the risks that beset him, and in his castle of St Andrews he had made himself a home of luxury and security, where he thought he might indulge his tastes in peace. Strong as he had made his place of refuge, however, his enemies at last took him at easy advantage. In the early morning of the 29th of May a band of persons whose numbers are variously stated, succeeded in entering the castle with the deliberate purpose of assassination. In his own bedchamber they found their victim; and when the citizens of St Andrews awoke, they saw the lifeless body of the great Cardinal suspended over the walls of his own castle. Of the respective motives of the assassins it is impossible to speak with certainty; but it is clear that reasons at once political, religious, and personal variously prompted them to the barbarous work. Two of the actors call for special note, for their names and character are necessary for the right understanding of their wild deed. Norman Leslie, the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, was accounted one of the most accomplished of the highborn Scottish youth of his time, and by his subsequent career in France approved himself an honourable

[1] Lemon, *State Papers*, v. 449, 466.—The coincidence of the name and the fact that George Wishart was associated with the "assured Scots" has raised the question whether he was not the "Scottish man named Wysshert." So far as the evidence goes, no conclusion can be fairly drawn. The character and known actions of Wishart are certainly a strong presumption against his being the person. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the most eminent professor and preacher of the new faith should have been employed in such a service—on the ground of mere prudence and policy.

and gallant soldier. The other was William Kirkcaldy, son of Sir James Kirkcaldy, late Treasurer of the realm, who came to be Scotland's most distinguished soldier and to bear a reputation for loyalty and good faith which give him a place among his country's heroes. In truth, to the feudal barons, to the religious zealots, and the practical politicians of the age, the murder of Beaton was an expedient and justifiable enterprise; but the higher conscience of the country found its expression in the words of one who was no friend to the murdered churchman:

> "But of a truth, the sooth to say.
> Although the loon was well away.
> The deed was foully done[1]."

Cardinal Beaton was no moral monster such as were certain of the Italian ecclesiastics of the Renaissance, but his pleasures were gross, his ambitions were worldly, and of spiritual feeling in him it is hard to find a trace. No feudal baron of the time pursued his ends with less scrupulous purpose or less noble aims. In his tastes he was magnificent; he kept such a house, we are told, "as was never holden in Scotland under a king[2]"; but his name is associated with no enlightened and munificent patronage of learning such as partially redeems the character of many contemporary churchmen. To speak of him as a patriot seems a singular misapplication of the word. He placed the interests of his Church before the interests of his country, and he placed his own interests before the interests of his Church, as his forging of James's will signally proves. As events were to show, he was the promoter of a policy which ran counter to the natural development of the country. John Major and Sir David Lyndsay, both adherents of the ancient religion, saw that England and not France was the natural ally of Scotland; but Beaton availed himself of the hereditary hate of England and continued the evil policy of exasperating a powerful neighbour by that French alliance which had been unfortunate from the beginning. Nor does his career entitle him to the reverence and affection of those of his own religion. As the most various testimony proves, the ancient Church of Scotland died of sheer moral decay through the unfaithfulness of its own ministers. Had Beaton possessed the will and the character needed for her salvation, his life and his

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42; Knox, I. 174 and notes.
[2] *Hamilton Papers*, I. 537.

policy would have been very different from what they actually were. By precept and example he would have sought to renew her store of moral energy, which, if it had not eventually saved her, would at least have enabled her to die with a more becoming grace.

III. The Castle of St Andrews.

If the slayers of Beaton expected an immediate revolution in their favour, they were speedily undeceived. Great as had been the part the Cardinal had played, his death made no alteration in the two political parties and in the policy they respectively pursued. Personally the Regent Arran must have felt Beaton's removal to be a happy deliverance, and, if he had been free to follow his own interests and desires, he would doubtless have resumed his original policy of seeking an understanding with England. But there were two great obstacles to his adopting this course. As was soon to be proved, the Queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine, was far more powerful in the country than himself; and, moreover, the majority of the Scottish people were as bitterly opposed as ever to any suggestion of an English alliance. There was thus no alternative for Arran but to follow the course to which the Cardinal had committed him; and the punishment of his murderers, who had made themselves at home in the stronghold of their victim, was thrust upon him as his immediate duty. Measures were at once taken to bring them to justice and to arrange the affairs of the kingdom. On May 23, within a fortnight from Beaton's death, the Privy Council met at Edinburgh, and was attended by the leaders of both political parties. Its deliberations decisively showed what were for the moment the prevailing counsels in the country: the rejection of the English alliance was unanimously confirmed, and the Earl of Huntly was appointed Chancellor in succession to Beaton. On June 10th the Estates met in Edinburgh, and dealt with the pressing business of St Andrews. All concerned in the slaughter of the Cardinal were declared guilty of treason; and, to carry the law into effect, the country was divided into four districts, each of which in succession was to provide its contingent of armed men for the siege of the Castle[1].

1546

[1] *Privy Council Register*, I. pp. 23 *et seq.*; *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*

Ruins of St Andrews Castle.

The whole story of the siege is a striking commentary on the impotence of the government. When their numbers were greatest the defenders amounted to only 150 persons, yet there were circumstances which gave considerable advantage to this scanty garrison. The Cardinal had made his place of refuge as strong as the military art of the time could make it, and he had left it liberally stored with food and wine. The besieged had also a card in their hands which they could play with much effect. Among those whom they had found in the Castle was the eldest son of the Regent, who had been committed to Beaton as a pledge for his father's good faith. But the main hope of the outlaws was that permanent division of parties which made an effective administration impossible. Ostensibly the Regent, Mary of Lorraine, and the Douglases, were now working in concert; but so radically were all three opposed in their hopes and their aims that there could be no common action among them. The siege began in August, but so feeble were the efforts of the besiegers and so inadequate their means of attack, that it dragged on till the middle of December. On the 21st of that month Arran consented to an arrangement with the defenders which revealed the weakness of his own position. By this "Appointment," as it was called, the defenders were to retain the Castle till an absolution for the slaughter of the Cardinal should come from Rome; and no one who had been concerned in the deed was to suffer in person or goods either by spiritual or temporal law[1].

On January 28, 1547, Henry VIII died. He had scourged Scotland as no English king had scourged her since Edward I; yet his death, like that of Beaton, effected little change, for better or worse, in the unhappy country. The Earl of Hertford, the merciless agent of his will, took up his policy, and even surpassed his master by the vigour with which he gave it effect. The weight of his hand was soon to be felt; but meanwhile the country awaited the result of the arrangement with the desperate party in the Castle of St Andrews. In April that party was reinforced by one who, beyond every Scotsman of his time, was to influence the future of his country. After being hunted from place to place as a heretic and a friend of England, John Knox was driven to seek refuge with the murderers of the Cardinal. In such circumstances and in such singular company he was set apart for that mission of preacher and prophet which

1547

[1] Keith, I. 124, 127.

he was to fulfil with a combination of prudence and zeal and self-devotion which have given him a place among the religious forces of the world. No apostle ever began his mission under less happy auspices. Of the persons with whom he now found himself he testified that "their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God"; and his prediction was to have notable fulfilment. On the 21st of June, the Castilians, as the garrison of the Castle came to be called, at length received their answer from Rome. In a clause in the Absolution (*Remittimus irremissibile*) they detected a snare into which they refused to run their heads, and they gave the Regent to understand that without "a sufficient and assured absolution" they would not "deliver the house." Both parties had doubtless from the beginning expected this result, and had been making their arrangements accordingly. The Castilians had sought and received both money and provisions from England, and looked for still further assistance from the same quarter. On his part, the Regent had made urgent application to France; and recent changes in that country ensured a ready and effective response. Francis I died on March 31, and his death proved to be a far more important event for Scotland than the death of Henry VIII. Under his successor, Henry II, the two brothers of Mary of Lorraine, Francis, Duke of Guise, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, attained an ascendency which made them the virtual rulers of France. In their niece, Mary Stewart, the two brothers had an instrument which could be used with supreme effect in building up the fortunes of their house. That the Scottish queen should be in their absolute control was of paramount importance to the success of their schemes; and, as a first step towards this end, a fleet of twenty galleys, under the command of one of the most skilful soldiers of the time, Leo Strozzi, Prior of Capua, was despatched to the assistance of Arran. The Castilians soon found that they had an enemy to deal with more formidable than their ill-equipped and inexperienced countrymen. The French ordnance, directed by trained gunners and engineers, played with deadly effect on their defences, and the formidable attack was aggravated by plague and famine within. In these straits their case was desperate, and in the space of a month they were driven to accept such terms as were offered (July 21). The lives of all in the Castle were to be spared, and they were to be transported to France, where they were to have the option of accepting service with the French king or of withdrawing to any country except

their own. Knox, who had such excellent reason to remember the fact, has told how the French kept their pledge. On the arrival of the whole party in France, those who belonged to the rank of gentlemen were deposited in various prisons throughout the country, and the remainder were sent to the galleys. Among the last was Knox himself, whose nineteen months' experience as a galley-slave is one of the remarkable chapters in the history of the world's great men. But what is a still more surprising freak of destiny, it was Knox the galley-slave who more than any other man was to destroy the long ascendency of France in the affairs of Scotland[1].

IV. Somerset's Invasion.

The fall of the Castle of St Andrews seemed a decisive triumph for the party of France and the old religion; and a doggerel couplet of the time gave exulting expression to the general feeling: 1547

> "Preastes, content yow now; preastes, content yow now;
> For Normond[2] and his cumpany hes filled the gallayis fow[3]."

The triumph was short-lived, for the nation was on the eve of one of the great calamities of its history. The late successes of the French in Scotland only roused England to greater efforts to recover its influence in that country. The Earl of Hertford, now Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England, made it his first object to recall the Scots to a sense of their real position. If they chose France as their friend and ally, they must count on England as their foe. The only other alternative was alliance with England on the basis of a marriage between the Scottish queen and Edward VI. To impress these facts on the Scottish people Somerset crossed the Border in the first week of September, at the head of 18,000 men. He took his march along the east coast, attended by a fleet commanded by Lord Clinton, and found the Scots awaiting him at Musselburgh, about six miles from the capital. On the news of the English invasion the Regent had done his utmost to meet the enemy on equal terms. The fiery

[1] Knox, 1. 185, 203, 206; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 43; Rymer, *Fœdera*, XV. 133, 144.

[2] Norman Leslie. [3] full.

cross had been sent through the country, and the summons had brought together a force considerably more numerous than that of England. It seemed, also, that all feuds and factions were for the time forgotten. Huntly, Angus, and Argyle, all three bitter enemies and rivals, brought their followings; and on the side of the Scots it was the versatile Angus who won the honours of the day. The Regent had chosen an admirable position with the water of Esk in front, and the sea at some distance on his left. On Friday, the 9th of September, Somerset took his ground on the slopes of Fawside Hill, the Esk water separating the two hosts. In a preliminary skirmish the Scots suffered considerable loss, and an important prisoner was taken in the heir of Lord Hume. On the morning of the following day, long known in Scotland as "Black Saturday," the English were gratified by a sight similar to that which gratified Cromwell at Dunbar. With inconceivable folly the Scots abandoned their strong position, and, crossing the Esk, gave battle to the enemy in circumstances that made their defeat certain. On the low ground, known as Pinkie Cleuch, between the slopes of Fawside and the Firth of Forth, they were between the fires from the galleys of Clinton and from Somerset's ordnance on Fawside Hill. A slight advantage at first raised the hopes of the Scots. With a band of cavalry Lord Grey de Wilton attacked the spearmen of Angus, who "stood as even as a wall" and drove back the enemy in headlong rout and with considerable loss. But when the battle became general, the difficulties of the Scottish position were speedily apparent. Harassed between the two fires, their ranks were broken by the charges of the English horse, and thrown into irretrievable confusion, while their own cavalry were lying inactive on the west bank of the Esk. The rout that followed was one of the most disgraceful in the military annals of the Scots. In one direction they were pursued as far as Dalkeith, in another to the gates of Edinburgh, places distant three and six miles respectively from the field. While the English loss was inconsiderable, that of the Scots was disastrous. Fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom was the Chancellor Huntly, were taken; and the number of the slain was estimated at about ten thousand[1].

[1] *English Hist. Review*, July, 1898. This article has been embodied by its author, Mr Pollard, in his *England under the Protector Somerset* (1900); Knox, I. 206—214; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 44, 45; *Accounts of the Lord Treasurer*, Aug. 28, 1547; Patten, *The Expedition into Scotland*; Holinshed, p. 239; Leslie, 197.

The results that followed the battle of Pinkie recalled the times of the War of Independence. The day following the battle, Leith was given to the flames; and, though 1547 pressing affairs called Somerset to England, the commanders he had left behind him had captured, before the end of September, Broughty Castle at the mouth of the Tay, and the islands of Inchcolm and Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth—all important strongholds near the heart of the kingdom. In the same month a formidable force under Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox harried the West March; and these leaders were able to report that the whole of Annandale would shortly be subject to the English king[1].

Yet the main object of Somerset's expedition was as far off as ever. Even after Pinkie the Scots had no thought of seeking peace with England by giving up their queen. Immediately after the battle she was sent to a safe asylum on the island of Inchmahome in the Lake of Menteith. Other measures now taken showed that those at the head of affairs were as firmly resolved as ever to follow the traditional policy of the country. Their urgent business now was to drive the English from those strongholds which they had seized after the late disaster, but in their own strength they were unequal to the task. In a Council held at Stirling, attended by Arran, Mary of Lorraine, D'Oysel, the French agent, and the chief nobility, it was resolved to appeal once more to France. Through this appeal and its consequences all the labours of Henry VIII and Somerset were for a time to be undone, and Scotland was to run the risk of becoming a dependency of the French king[2].

Meanwhile, the English were making a deliberate attempt at the permanent occupation of the country; and, with the forces at his disposal, the Regent could offer no 1548 effective resistance. An army under Argyle failed to recover Broughty Castle; and the only advantage gained by the Scots was a reverse inflicted in Dumfriesshire on a marauding expedition under Wharton and Lennox. In April, 1548, the English commander, Lord Grey, took a step which was a serious menace to the independence of the country. Having seized and fortified the town of Haddington, the most important place strategically

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 45; Leslie, pp. 200, 201; Bain, *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, I. 21.

[2] Leslie, pp. 200, 203.

between Edinburgh and the Border, he made it a centre from which he could carry fire and sword into the surrounding districts. He burnt in succession Dalkeith Castle, Musselburgh, and Dunbar, and he was able to report to Somerset that he had "under assurance the greater part to Edinburgh and beyond[1]."

V. French Ascendency.

Relief came to the Scots in the course of the summer. In June a French fleet appeared in the Firth of Forth bringing a force of 6000 men, commanded by André de Montalembert, Sieur d'Essé, and Leo Strozzi, who had distinguished himself by the capture of the Castle of St Andrews. The most pressing business on hand was the recovery of Haddington; and by the first week of July a combined force of Scots and French sat down before it. But ere the siege had well begun a matter of the first moment was settled. The Scots were now to learn that, in coming to their aid, the King of France expected an adequate return. In a meeting of the Scottish Estates held (July 7) in the Abbey of Haddington, about a mile distant from the town, the French Ambassador, D'Oysel, made known his master's desires. The young Queen of Scots should be sent for safety to France, there to be married to the Dauphin; and, in the event of his desire being gratified, the French king bound himself to defend Scotland against all her enemies as he would defend France herself. "In ane voice" the Estates accepted the proffered conditions, though on the express condition that the ancient laws and liberties of Scotland should remain intact, whatever might be the future relations of the two countries. Though the assent of the Estates is said to have been given "in ane voice," there were, in truth, many leading persons in the country, and notably the Regent himself, who were strenuously opposed to the new French alliance. But, supported as she was by the formidable force of her countrymen, Mary of Lorraine had for the moment her daughter's destinies in her hands. At the end of July the queen was conveyed from Dunbarton, and on the 13th of August she reached the coast of France, which was to be her home for the next thirteen years. "France and Scotland," exclaimed Henry II, when he heard of her arrival, "are now one country[2]."

1548

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 45; Bain, *Calendar of State Papers*, I. 111—116.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 46; Bain, I. 134; *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, II. 481; Philippson, I. 119.

To drive the English from the country was the next step towards the accomplishment of the designs of France. The task proved both tedious and hard. As had invariably happened when Frenchmen made a protracted stay in Scotland, the essential incompatibility of the two peoples prevented their acting in hearty concert; many powerful men in the country were but half-hearted in their approval of the new alliance; not a few nobles and lairds still continued in the pay of England; the places in the possession of the English were both strong and well-garrisoned; and the numbers of the Scots and French combined did not give them an overwhelming advantage. At first, however, it seemed as if Haddington, the chief stronghold of the invader, was to be an easy capture. By the end of July the garrison was in desperation from the lack of food and ammunition, but a daring enterprise on the part of two English captains relieved the besieged with reinforcements and supplies. This success was followed up by an invasion conducted by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, entering Scotland with an army of 15,000 men, forced the French to raise the siege and wasted for some weeks the country which he traversed. But the Protector Somerset's troubles at home effectually prevented the steady furtherance of his policy in Scotland; and during the remainder of the war the Scots and their allies gradually drove the invader from one stronghold after another. By the spring of 1549 the chief places held by the English—Hume Castle, Fast Castle, and Broughty Craig—had all been recovered, and Haddington alone remained to be taken. The arrival of fresh reinforcements from France quickened the exertions of the allies, and by the close of the autumn they at length completed their task. Pressed by famine and pestilence, the English force in Haddington evacuated the town (Sept. 14), which they had occupied for more than eighteen months[1]. 1549

It was now more than five years since the Earl of Hertford had led his memorable expedition against Leith and Edinburgh, and during the whole of that period Scotland had been subjected to an ordeal such as she had not known since the War of Independence. Cleft in twain by the dissensions of the English and French parties, she had had to resist, as best she could, all the efforts of Henry VIII

[1] Bain, I. 150 *et seq.*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 48. A detailed account of the fighting between the English and the French is given in the "Histoire de la Guerre d'Écosse pendant les Campagnes 1548 et 1549," by Jean de Beaugué. (Maitland Club.)

and Somerset to bend her to their purpose. That she survived the trial is a striking testimony at once to the high spirit of the people and to the stability of the kingdom.

In the spring of 1550 Scotland became an assenting party to an arrangement which assured to her a few years of comparative tranquillity. By the Treaty of Boulogne, concluded between England and France on the 24th of March, she was finally freed from the presence of the invader—the English undertaking to relinquish every stronghold which still remained in their possession. The course was now open for the further development of French policy in Scotland; and, as that policy became more clearly revealed, Scotsmen of all parties began to realise that they had only exchanged one formidable enemy for another. In spite of all the efforts of her successive kings, England had never gained such a position in Scotland as was now held by France. A Frenchwoman was the most powerful person in the country; the Scottish queen, in spite of the continued protests of England, would soon be the wife of the heir of France; and the chief strongholds in the country were garrisoned by French soldiery. Inspired by her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Queen-mother addressed herself to convert Scotland into a province of France. There were already indications that she would have to walk warily if she was to effect her purpose. The presence of the French soldiery in their country was every day becoming more distasteful to the Scots. The fourth month after the arrival of D'Essé, a fight, in which many lives were lost, had been fought in the streets of Edinburgh between the citizens and the strangers; and all through the late campaigns the French, as the Scots complained, had wrought as much havoc as the English themselves. With the objects she had in view, Mary of Lorraine could not wholly dispense with the presence of her countrymen, but she now sent home as many of them as she could, retaining only such as were necessary to hold the most important strongholds in the kingdom[1].

1550

The next step of the Queen-mother was to make herself in name what she was already in fact—the first person in the kingdom. We have seen that during the lifetime of Cardinal Beaton she had made an unsuccessful attempt to take Arran's place. But, as things now stood in Scotland, she could repeat the attempt with much greater chance of success. Arran, indeed, was still in the

[1] Knox, I. 221—224; Teulet, I. 703; *Hamilton Papers*, II. 616; Leslie, p. 233.

way, but late events had shown how little power he really possessed. For the strongest family reasons he had been opposed to the late alliance with France. It had been his desire that his own son and heir might marry the Queen of Scots, and thus ensure the Scottish Crown to the House of Hamilton; but through the late French treaty he had lost the great opportunity and had to be content with the bribe of the Duchy of Châtelherault for himself and the command of the Scottish Guard for his son. Nevertheless, the path of the Queen-mother's ambition was not quite smooth. There was no valid precedent for a woman's assuming the Regency; there were many powerful persons who looked with disfavour on the encroaching ascendency of France in the affairs of Scotland; and, in spite of the feebleness of the Regent, the House of Hamilton was always a formidable power in the country. As the most direct means of attaining her end, Mary proceeded to the French Court in September, 1550, taking in her train certain of the leading Scottish nobles. Won over by much French gold, these nobles lent her their support in the main object of her visit, which, moreover, was as desirable to Henry II as to herself and her brothers. From France a deputation was sent to Arran to request him to demit the Regency, and to offer him as compensation the French duchy which had already been held out to him. Greatly against his will Arran accepted the proffered conditions; and in November, 1551, the Queen-mother returned to Scotland, after visiting the court of Edward VI on the way[1].

1550

1551

The arrangement made with Arran was that Mary of Lorraine should assume the Regency when her daughter reached the age of twelve. Apparently this delay did not meet her wishes, for immediately after her return she brought further pressure to bear upon Arran. But Arran had now at his side his half-brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, whom ill-health had for some time prevented from taking an active part in public life, and he refused to be coerced. At length, the Queen-mother brought matters to a point. Summoning a council of the chief nobles, she put this question before them—When did Mary Stewart attain the age of twelve? As Scotland was now virtually a part of France, the same question was laid before the Parliament of Paris. By both bodies it was decided that in the case of princes it was prudent to reckon their

[1] Leslie, pp. 234—8; *Register of Privy Council*, I. 108, 117; *Venetian Calendar*, v. 361; *Journal of Edward VI* (Clarendon Hist. Soc.), p. 48.

years from the earliest date possible. Fortified with this decision the Queen-mother succeeded in bringing Arran to submission, and on the 12th of April, 1554, some seven months before her daughter had attained the age of twelve, she was proclaimed by the Estates to be Regent of Scotland. "A new and till that day unheard-of spectacle," says Buchanan, "was this to the Scottish people: for the first time was a woman promoted to the government of the kingdom[1]."

[1] Leslie, pp. 244—246; Teulet, I. 264; Buchanan, p. 305. Knox writes (though the expression was not original) that the Queen-mother's coronation was "als seimlye a sight (yf men had eis) as to putt a sadill upoun the back of ane unrewly kow."—Mary of Gueldres, the mother of James III, was never regent; and though Margaret Tudor, the widow of James IV, assumed the office, she was not permitted to retain it.

CHAPTER II.

REGENCY OF MARY OF LORRAINE (1554—1559).

English Sovereigns.		French Kings.	
Mary Tudor ...	1553—1558	Henry II	1547—1559
Elizabeth	1558—1603	Francis II	1559—1560
		Charles IX... ...	1560—1574
King of Spain.		Popes.	
Philip II	1555—1598	Julius III	1550—1555
		Marcellus II ...	1555
		Paul IV	1555—1559
		Pius IV	1559—1566

I. French Domination.

THE measures taken immediately by the Queen-Regent proved at once her great authority in the country and her steady determination to make Scotland an appanage of France. 1554
A redistribution of the great offices of State was her first step; and it was significant that the most important of these were placed in the hands of Frenchmen. One Bartholomew Villemore was made comptroller; De Roubay was entrusted with the Great Seal and appointed colleague to the Chancellor Huntly; and at a later date one Bonet was placed over the Orkney Islands. As her chief adviser Mary chose the French ambassador, D'Oysel, who had played such an important part in the recent transactions between the two countries[1]. When it is remembered that, with the exception of the Castle of Edinburgh, the chief fortresses of the country were garrisoned by the French soldiery, it will be seen that Mary of Lorraine had a fair prospect of realising all her desires.

The first year of her rule saw the temporary ruin of the greatest noble and highest official in the country. During the unsettlement that followed the battle of Pinkie there had been the habitual disturbances in the Highlands and the Western Islands. As her

[1] Leslie, 250, 251.

conduct of the government was to prove, Mary of Lorraine was not a ruler to be lightly defied; and she at once took energetic measures to restore order among the offending chiefs. In June the Earls of Argyle and Huntly were respectively entrusted with a fleet and an army to execute the Regent's orders. The task of Argyle was to carry fire and sword against the Clanronald, Donald Gorme, and Macleod of Lewis; while Huntly was to support him with a force that was to be raised in the country beyond the Dee. Both leaders failed in their attempts; and the Regent was apparently convinced that in Huntly's case there had been treasonable dealing. Acting on this suspicion, she warded him in the Castle of Edinburgh, stript him of the Earldoms of Moray and Mar, which had been lately added to his domains, and ordered him to retire to France for the next five years. On the payment of a large sum, however, he was permitted to remain in Scotland, and nominally to retain the office of Chancellor; but the powers and privileges of the office remained in the hands of the Frenchman De Roubay till the close of the regency of Mary of Lorraine[1].

Scotsmen of all parties could not fail to see whither the Regent's policy was tending; and there were visible signs which must have warned her that she was going a dangerous way. In a Parliament

1555 that met in June, 1555, it was found necessary to pass an Act which reveals the working of the public mind. The Act was entitled "Anent the speaking evil of the Queen's Grace or Frenchmen"; and it threatened severe penalties against all such as sought "to stir the hearts of the subjects to hatred" against France. But it was not till the following year that the Regent

1556 met the first decided opposition to the policy she was pursuing. In the summer of that year a Parliament[2] met in Edinburgh, one of the measures of which was doubtless a prudent step on the part of the Regent. At the special request of the French king[3], the Lairds of Brunston, Grange, Ormiston, and others, who had been more or less directly concerned in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, were relieved from their forfeitures, and permitted to return to their own country. If this was a prudent measure in her own interest, a proposal which she made to the same Parliament proves that she never really understood the

[1] Leslie, 251, 252; *Register of Privy Council*, XIV. 12, 13.

[2] It was known as the "Running Parliament," a name given because it met at intervals. There were several other "Running Parliaments" in Scottish history—Leslie, 254.

[3] Leslie, 254.

nation she had been so eager to govern. The proposal was that, for the purpose of national defence, a standing army should be created and maintained by a permanent tax on the property of the country[1]. The manner in which the proposal was received must have convinced the Regent that she had made a false step. Three hundred barons, assembling in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, despatched two of their number, the Lairds of Calder and Wemyss, to represent their objections to her scheme. Their forefathers, they declared, had made good the defence of their native country, and their sons were no whit inferior to them in hardihood. Their kings, moreover, had ever been entitled "kings of Scots"—the title implying that they were the masters of their country but not of their money or substance. With the best grace she could the Regent abandoned her project; but the mere fact that she had entertained it deepened the suspicions that had already taken possession of the public mind[2].

Certain events of the year 1557 brought vividly home to the Scots that there were two sides to the late compact made with France. Henry II was now at war with Philip of Spain; and Philip, as the husband of Mary Tudor, could reckon on the support of England. To give England occupation, therefore, Henry had recourse to the traditional policy of France: he appealed to Mary of Lorraine to declare war against that country. The appeal was peculiarly inopportune, as at this very moment English and Scottish commissioners were engaged in friendly deliberations at Carlisle. But the main object of the Regent's government was precisely to promote the interests of France, and she made haste to give effect to Henry's appeal. In a council held at Newbattle she urged immediate war with England, but was met by a flat refusal on the part of the lords who were present. Such a war, they declared, might be in the interest of France, but was certainly not in the interest of Scotland. By a dexterous move, however, the Regent attained her end. Contrary to the terms of the late treaty with England, she gave orders to D'Oysel to fortify the village of Eyemouth in the teeth of the English town of Berwick. Hostilities at once began, and the Scottish commissioners at Carlisle were recalled from their deliberations. In October a large army was brought together at

1557

[1] A standing army had existed in France since 1439, when it was created by the Ordinance of Orleans.

[2] Leslie, 254, 255.

Kelso, and the Regent eagerly pressed for the invasion of England. To this step, the leading nobles—Châtelherault, Huntly, Argyle, Cassillis, and others—refused to give their consent. They were willing, they said, to do their utmost in defence of their own country; but an invasion of England would involve risks which it would be folly to run. In high indignation the Regent disbanded the army, and had to content herself with petty hostilities on the Border[1].

Meanwhile France had been passing through one of the most serious crises in her history. In the battle of St Quentin (August 10, 1557), fought against Philip II, she had sustained such a crushing defeat that Paris itself was endangered. In these circumstances it became more urgent than ever that Scotland and France should be one country. But recent proceedings had shown that Scotland was not content to be a mere tool of France. It was full time, therefore, to insist on the fulfilment of the main point in the treaty of Haddington—the marriage of the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots. Accordingly, on the 30th of October, Henry addressed a letter to the Scottish Estates requesting commissioners to be sent to France to make the necessary arrangements for the union. The Estates met in December, and appointed nine of their number to conduct the necessary negotiations. Of the nine it is noteworthy that two—the Lord James Stewart and Erskine of Dun—were already known as supporters of the new religious opinions. In the precise instructions given to the Commission we see the jealous fear of future encroachments on the part of France. The ancient laws, liberties, and privileges of Scotland were to be observed by both princes in every eventuality; and in case of the queen's dying without heirs the Duke of Châtelherault was to be acknowledged as her successor.

The following year (1558) saw the apparent fulfilment of all the desires of Henry II and the family of Guise. On the 24th of April the Dauphin of France and the Queen of Scots were married in the Church of Nôtre Dame in Paris; and the unusual splendour of the ceremonial showed the importance that was attached to the event. The treaty had been signed on the 19th of April, and in its terms the independence of Scotland was as securely guarded as words could effect. But we are now

1558

[1] Leslie, 260.—As the devoted adherent of Mary Stewart, Leslie naturally gives the most favourable account he can of her mother's government.

aware of a sinister transaction of which the Scottish commissioners knew nothing. Fifteen days before the signing of the public treaty the Queen of Scots, now in her sixteenth year, became a party to a secret compact which throws an interesting light on the political morality of the time. In three papers, which she was induced to sign, Scotland was made over as a free gift to the French king in the event of her dying without heirs. To ensure the execution of this arrangement, Henry was to be left master of Scotland till the payment of the bill for Mary's maintenance and education in France. The third paper contained the most startling statement of all. It was there written that, whatever treaties had been or should be made, this secret compact should be regarded as the only valid arrangement between the two countries[1]. Before the commissioners left Paris a demand was made of them which could not fail to raise further suspicions regarding the ultimate aims of Henry and his advisers. They were asked to use their influence to have the Scottish crown sent to France to be placed on the head of the Dauphin. They replied that their instructions contained no hint concerning such a demand, which, in their opinion, was fitted to provoke misunderstandings between the two nations. On their way home a singular event formed an ominous close to the joyful errand of the commissioners. Of the *nine*, who made up their whole number, four died on the way—a coincidence that could not fail to excite suspicions in an age when assassination was one of the recognised resources of diplomacy[2].

II. The Religious Revolution.

At the close of 1558 it seemed as if the ascendency of France in Scotland were assured. In a meeting of the Estates held in November it was decreed that the demand 1558 which Henry II had made of the commissioners should be granted. The Scottish crown was to be sent to France, "to the intent that the most Christian King and King Dauphin her [Mary's] husband may understand with what zeal and affection her subjects are minded to observe and recognise her spouse." To give the better grace to the gift, it was to be conveyed by two persons known for their hostile attitude towards French influence and the ancient

[1] Labanoff, *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, I. 50 *et seq.*

[2] The four commissioners who died were all persons of note. They were Reid, Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Cassillis and Rothes, and Lord Fleming.

religion—the Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyle. But in this apparent triumph of her policy Mary of Lorraine had reached the limit of her success. It was now to be seen that all along her action had been opposed to the best intelligence and the deepest conviction of the nation. The year 1559 was to prove the most momentous year in the history of the Scottish people. Through the events of that year Scotland was to make a breach with its past that divides its history in twain. Of the forces that directly issued in this revolution one has been constantly before us in the narrative of the rule of Mary of Lorraine. The dread of France had now become as keen as the traditional dread of England; and with the ablest of the national leaders it had become a fixed conviction that if the country was not to become a French province the time for action had arrived. As it happened, their patriotism was reinforced by a spiritual quickening of the best minds of the people which supplied the requisite motive-power for revolution. The teachers of the new religion identified France with Rome, and for the triumph of their opinions they believed it to be the indispensable condition that the country should be freed from the influence of France. In the events that now followed religion and patriotism went hand in hand; and it was only the exigencies of the moment that determined which should be put before the world as the special ground of action.

Since the death of Cardinal Beaton the new religious opinions had made steady progress among the Scottish people. The testimony of official records puts the fact beyond question. In June, 1546, within a fortnight after Beaton's death, the Privy Council found it necessary to pass an Act "against invading, destroying, and withholding of Abbeys[1]." In March of the following year a Provincial Council of the Scottish clergy met at Edinburgh, and urgently besought the Regent [Arran] to take steps for the defence of the true religion—their reason being that the land is "now infected with the pestilentious heresies of Luther's sect and followers[2]." The records of another Provincial Council, which met in 1549, bear the same testimony, and make the candid confession that the root of the evil is the incompetence and vicious lives of the clergy themselves[3]. The burning of Adam Wallace (1550) on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh only served to promote the cause for which he suffered. In 1551 the Estates passed an Act

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, I. 28, 29.
[2] Robertson, *Stat. Eccles. Scot.*, I. cxlvi, note.
[3] *Ibid.* II. 82—4.

against all who printed "ballads, songs, blasphemous rhymes" against the Church[1]. It is to the credit of a Provincial Council which met in 1552 that it sanctioned the publication of the admirable exposition of Catholic doctrine, known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism; yet the directions given for its use are a striking attestation to the necessity of a vital religious reform. Rectors, vicars, and curates are warned not to read it in church except they can do so without stumbling, as otherwise they might excite the jeers of their congregations; and they are exhorted to qualify themselves by daily practice to discharge this office in a manner that will tend to the edification of their flock[2].

A succession of events in England gave a direct impulse to the spread of Protestant opinions in Scotland. In July, 1553, Mary Tudor became Queen of England; and her unsparing action against heresy drove many persons to seek refuge in the northern kingdom. Of these persons two were Scotsmen and noted as specially energetic and successful in gaining adherents to the new faith—William Harlow and John Willock. Harlow, originally a tailor in Edinburgh and subsequently a Protestant preacher under Edward VI, now devoted himself to the spiritual needs of his own countrymen and achieved such success that on the establishment of Protestantism as the national religion he was appointed minister of St Cuthbert's in Edinburgh. Willock was to play a still more distinguished part. Unlike Harlow, he was a scholar and a trained theologian, and stands next to Knox among the Scottish reformers. Another event in English history bore directly on the religious development of Scotland. The marriage (July, 1554) of Mary Tudor to Philip of Spain was fraught with serious consequences for France. In the prolonged struggle between the two countries Spain could now reckon on the support of England; and it was now more necessary than ever that France should have her old allies the Scots at her disposal. To alienate any section of her subjects by harsh dealing would at this moment have been peculiarly ill-timed on the part of Mary of Lorraine; and for the next few years the Protestants of Scotland knew little of the terrors of the contemporary Marian persecution and of the *chambre ardente* of Henry II in France.

It was during this period of respite to his cause that John Knox paid his first visit to Scotland since his exile. It was in the autumn of 1555 that he came, and during a stay of about ten months he at

[1] Robertson, *Stat. Eccles. Scot.*, II. 136. [2] *Ibid.* II. 137, 138.

once defined the aims and spread the faith of the Protestant party. In Edinburgh, in Forfarshire, and in Ayrshire he found many willing listeners; and it was not till May, 1556, that he was called to account for his defiance of the laws that had been passed against heresy. Summoned to the Blackfriars Church in Edinburgh, he appeared with such a following of Protestant gentlemen that the spiritual authorities deemed it the wiser course to abandon their intended proceedings against him. A letter from Geneva relieved them of his presence, and in July (1556) he returned to that city, leaving notable proofs of his mission behind him. Among the chief persons who had more or less ardently supported him were the Lord James Stewart, afterwards the Regent Moray; Lord Erskine, afterwards the Regent Mar; the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Glencairn, and Erskine of Dun—all of whom were to play more or less important parts in the approaching revolution[1].

With every year the party of the new religion grew at once in the number of their adherents and the boldness of their demands. In December, 1557, there appeared the first manifesto of Protestantism in Scotland, which is further memorable as the first of those religious "bonds" or "covenants" so frequent in the subsequent history of the country. In unambiguous words the signatories (the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn and Morton, Lord Lorne and Erskine of Dun) bound themselves never to rest till they had set up as the national religion the faith which they had themselves adopted. When such was the spirit and such the aim of the Lords of the Congregation, as they now began to style themselves, the mortal struggle between the old faith and the new could not be long delayed. The events of the year 1558 brought the two parties face to face with the inevitable issue of their conflict. In the opening of that year the Protestant lords presented a petition to the Regent in which they gave sufficiently moderate expression to their demands. They urged the need of an immediate reform "of the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of Prelates and of the State ecclesiastical"; and for themselves they claimed the right of public and private prayer in the common speech, of explaining and expounding the Scriptures, and of Communion in both kinds[2]. They were speedily reminded that they were not yet masters of the country, and that there was a limit to the patience of the existing spiritual authorities. On

1558

[1] Knox, *Works*, I. 245 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.* I. 301.

the 28th of April, Walter Mill, "a man of decrepit age," who had once been a priest, was burnt at St Andrews on a charge of heresy.

The burning of Walter Mill, like the burning of Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, was a blunder in the interest of the Church itself. In the case of all three, the sympathies of the people were with the victims rather than with their judges. On the death of Mill the Protestant preachers became more energetic than ever. John Douglas and William Harlow (of whom we have already heard) taught publicly in Leith and Edinburgh, Paul Methven in Dundee, and others in Angus and the Mearns. When summoned to Edinburgh (July 19) to answer for their defiance of the Church, they appeared with such a following that the authorities deemed it prudent to postpone immediate action against them. An incident which happened a few weeks later in the streets of Edinburgh showed how popular opinion was tending in the capital. As the clergy were bearing in procession the image of St Giles, the patron saint of the capital, they were mobbed by the populace, and the image seized, dashed to the ground, and mutilated[1].

The year closed with another petition of the Protestant leaders, which they presented to the Regent with the request that she would submit it to the Estates which were to meet in November. This she refused to do, and the petitioners drew up another document which they presented in their own persons to the Estates. In this "Protestation" they claimed absolute freedom of worship, and, after denouncing the acknowledged evils in the Church, they made use of words, which, in view of the near future, are charged with special significance. "We protest," they say, "that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all things to be reformed by an order[2]." The petitioners desired that their protest should be entered in the proceedings of the Estates; but this was refused, and the protest bore no immediate fruit. Yet an event had happened in this same month of November, which—though neither party could then foresee the issue—was to be a turning-point in the history of Christendom, and to determine the future destinies of Scotland. On the 17th of that month the Catholic Mary Tudor died, and was succeeded by her sister, the Protestant Elizabeth.

[1] Knox, *Works*, I. 259—261. [2] *Ibid.* I. 314.

It was soon apparent that the accession of Elizabeth and her declared intention of ruling England as a Protestant sovereign involved momentous consequences for the future of Scotland. For the Protestant party it meant that they might now reckon on the support of a power whose interests must henceforth be more or less closely bound up with her own. On the other hand, the new counsels in England wrought an immediate change in the policy of France, in which Scotland was to play a leading part. For the family of Guise, now at the height of its fortunes, the death of Mary Tudor opened up a prospect at once dazzling and alluring. In the eyes of all good Catholics, Elizabeth was the illegitimate daughter of Anne Bolcyn and a heretic to boot. On these two grounds she could not be the lawful sovereign of England; and, her claim set aside, the English Crown was the undoubted right of Mary Stewart, the niece of the Guises, and the future Queen of France. Henry II was as eager to substitute Mary for Elizabeth as the Guises themselves; and their common aims and desires took immediate and practical shape. The arms of England were quartered with those of Scotland and France; and a policy was adopted which was to make good the assumption. It was indispensable to the success of these schemes that Scotland should be at the absolute bidding of the Guises and the French king; and in Mary of Lorraine they possessed an admirable agent for the attainment of this end. At the beginning of the year 1559 it might have seemed that she was already in a position to give effect to the ambition of her brothers. At the meeting of Estates in the preceding November she had gained the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the Dauphin; the principal offices of State were in the hands of Frenchmen; and bands of French soldiery occupied the main strongholds of the country. Yet she was well aware how much yet remained to be done before the Scottish nation could be bent to the purposes of France; and it was against her own judgment that she proceeded to carry out the policy that was now imposed upon her.

Two difficulties had to be overcome if the Regent was to compass the end at which her brothers were aiming; and, as matters now stood, either of these difficulties would have taxed the highest qualities of a ruler. She had to soothe the public alarm begotten of the threatened absorption of Scotland by France, and she had to steer such a course between the defenders of the old faith and the champions of the new as to secure the support of

both. What increased the difficulty of her task was the fact—which grew more patent every day—that the hatred of France was swelling the ranks of those who were clamouring for a root and branch reform of the Church.

The year 1559 began ominously for the success of the Regent's new policy. To this point it has been mainly on national feeling and religious conviction that we have had to insist as the driving-forces of the coming revolution. But, as is the case in all national upheavals, there were likewise economic forces at work which were none the less potent because they were obscured behind the dramatic development of sensational public events. A remarkable document, the author of which is unknown, gave striking expression to this aspect of the Scottish Reformation. It was entitled the "Beggars' Summons," and purported to come from "all cities, towns, and villages of Scotland." On the 1st of January, 1559[1], this terrible manifesto, breathing the very spirit of revolution, was found placarded on the gates of every religious establishment in Scotland. The "Summons" begins as follows: "The blind, crooked, lame, widows, orphans, and all other poor visited by the hand of God as may not work, to the flocks of all friars within this realm, we wish restitution of wrongs past, and reformation in times coming, for salutation." It may be sufficient to quote the concluding passage of this extraordinary effusion, and it is a passage which should never be out of mind in any estimate of the forces that were about to effect the great cataclysm in the national life. "Wherefore, seeing our number is so great, so indigent, and so heavily oppressed by your false means that none taketh care of our misery, and that it is better to provide for these our impotent members which God hath given us, to oppose to you in plain controversy than to see you hereafter, as ye have done before, steal from us our lodging, and ourselves in the mean time to perish, and die for want of the same; we have thought good, therefore, ere we enter in conflict with you to warn you in the name of the great God by this public writing affixed on your gates where ye now dwell that ye remove forth of our said hospitals, betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday next, so that we the only lawful proprietors thereof may enter thereto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the Church which ye have heretofore wrongfully holden from us: certifying you if ye fail, we

1559

[1] 1558 according to the old reckoning. It was not till 1600 that the year was dated in Scotland from the 1st of January. Previous to 1600 the year began on the 25th of March.

will at the said term, in whole number and with the help of God and assistance of his saints on earth, of whose ready support we doubt not, enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same. Let him, therefore, that before hath stolen, steal no more; but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpful to the poor[1]."

The inflammatory statements of revolutionaries must be taken for what they are worth; but there is abundant evidence to prove that the above indictment of the national Church was not without foundation in fact. It has been computed that one-half of the wealth of the country was in possession of the clergy; and we have the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses to the unworthy uses to which it was put. Hector Boece, John Major, and Ninian Winzet, were all three faithful sons of the Church, and all three cried aloud at the venality, avarice, and luxurious living of the higher clergy. "But now for many years," wrote Major, "we have seen shepherds whose only care it is to find pasture for themselves, men neglectful of the duties of religion..... By open flattery do the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam*..., and they covet these ample revenues, not for the good help that they thence might render to their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer[2]." To the same effect Ninian Winzet wrote after the judgment had come. "The special roots of all mischief," he says, "be the two infernal monsters, Pride and Avarice, of the which unhappily has upsprung the election of unqualified bishops and other pastors in Scotland." This spectacle of the national Church, with its disproportionate wealth, and its selfish, incompetent, and often degraded officials, could not but be a growing offence to the developing intelligence of the nation; and to quicken this feeling there were minor grievances which were an ancient ground of complaint on the part of the laity against their spiritual advisers. On every important event of his life the poor man was harassed by exactions which Sir David Lyndsay has so keenly touched in his "Satire of the Three Estates." Says the Pauper in the Interlude:

> "Quhair will ye find that law, tell gif ye can,
> To tak thine ky, fra ane pure husband man?
> Ane for my father, and for my wyfe ane uther,
> And the third cow, he tuke fra Mald my mother."

[1] Calderwood, I. 423, 424; Knox, *Works*, I. 320.
[2] Major, *Hist. of Greater Britain*, pp. 136, 137 (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

And Diligence replies:

> "It is thair law, all that they have in use,
> Thocht it be cow, sow, ganer, gryse, or guse[1]."

If the poor had these grounds of discontent, the rich likewise had theirs; and they made bitter complaint against the protracted processes in the Consistorial Courts, and the frequent appeals to the Roman Curia, by which both their means and their patience were exhausted[2].

It was in the face of feelings such as these that, in the spring of 1559, the Queen-Regent entered on her new line of policy towards her refractory subjects. Her first steps were taken with her usual prudence. A Provincial Council of the clergy was summoned to meet on the 1st of March for the express purpose of dealing with the religious difficulty. It was the last Provincial Council of the ancient Church that was to meet in Scotland; and, if the expression of its good intentions could have availed, the Church might yet have been saved. All that its worst enemies had said as to its shortcomings was frankly admitted, and admirable decrees were passed with a view to a speedy and effective reform[3]. But the hour had passed when the mere reform of life and doctrine would have sufficed to meet the desires of the new spiritual teachers. As was speedily to be seen, it was revolution and not reform on which these new teachers were now bent with an ever-growing confidence that their triumph was not far off. A double order issued by the Regent toward the end of March brought her face to face with the consequences of her changed policy. Unauthorised persons were forbidden to preach, and the lieges were commanded to observe the festival of Easter after the manner ordained by the Church[4]. The preachers disregarded both edicts and were summoned to answer for their disobedience. 1559

It was now seen that the Regent was no longer in the mood for temporising; and the Congregation despatched two of their number, the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hew Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr, to deprecate her wrath. Their reception must have taught them that times were now changed since the days when the Regent deemed it necessary to conciliate their party. "In despite of you

[1] The exactions which were most keenly resented are enumerated in the First Book of Discipline—"the uppermost claith, the corpse-present, the clerk-maill, the Pasche offeringis, teynd aill, and all handelings upaland."—Knox, II. 222.

[2] Cf. *Stat. Eccles. Scot.*, II. 148, 149.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Knox, *Works*, I. 316.

and your ministers both," she told the two deputies, "they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preached as truly as ever did St Paul." When they reminded her of her previous promises, she replied in words that were never forgotten, and which her grandson, James VI, recalled and laid to heart in his own dealings with his subjects. "It became not subjects," she said, "to burden their princes further than it pleaseth them to keep the same[1]." For a time, however, she consented to stay further action against the preachers. But, if she were to carry out the task she had undertaken, she must sooner or later make trial of her strength against what had now become actual rebellion. In Perth, Dundee, and Montrose, the Protestant preachers, with the approval and countenance of the constituted authorities, openly proceeded with their work of spreading the new opinions. At length, the Regent took the step which was to be the beginning of the end of the Catholic Church in Scotland. She summoned the preachers to appear before her at Stirling on the 10th of May; and, on this occasion, it was recognised by both parties that the moment for decisive action had come. To be ready for all contingencies, a numerous body of Protestant gentlemen from Angus and the Mearns, all, it is specially noted, "without armour," took up their quarters at Perth, where they were immediately joined by another contingent from Dundee. With this last body came John Knox, who on the 2nd of May had finally returned to his native country[2].

1559 All through their contest with the Regent, the Protestant leaders took up the position that they were acting in strict accordance with the law of the land. With the formidable following now at their back, they might have marched on Stirling, and gained a temporary advantage by their show of strength. What they actually did was to send Erskine of Dun to the Regent to lay their demands once more before her. As she was not yet in a position to enforce her will, she again agreed to postpone action against the preachers. It was the misfortune of her position from the beginning of the struggle that Mary of Lorraine was driven to subterfuges which made impossible any permanent understanding with her discontented subjects; and it was of evil omen for the

[1] Hill Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, VI. 339 (1870). Referring to the Church policy urged on him by Laud, James VI wrote: "I ken the story of my grandmother, the queen-regent, that after she was inveigled to break her promise to the mutineers at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, having been much beloved before, was despised by her people."

[2] Knox, *Works*, I. 318.

success of her present policy that she now allowed herself to commit a serious breach of faith. In the teeth of her promise to Erskine, she proclaimed the preachers as outlaws when they failed to appear at Stirling on the day appointed for their trial. The news of the Regent's breach of faith was the immediate occasion of the first stroke in the Scottish Reformation. The day after the outlawry John Knox preached a sermon in the parish church of Perth, his theme being the idolatries of Rome and the duty of Christian men to put an end to them. At the close of the sermon, when the majority of the audience had left the church, a priest proceeded to celebrate mass. A forward boy made a protesting remark; the priest struck him; the boy retaliated by throwing a stone which broke an image; and immediately the church was in an uproar. In a few moments not "a monument of idolatry" was left in the building. The news of these doings spread through the town, and the "rascal multitude[1]" took up the work. There had been old quarrels between the town and the religious orders; and so early as 1543 a violent assault had been made on the Blackfriars' Monastery. But on the present occasion the work done was at once more extensive and more thorough. The main onslaught was directed against the monasteries of the Dominicans and the Franciscans and the Charterhouse Abbey; and within two days, says Knox, "the walls only did remain of these great edifications[2]."

There was now no alternative but the sword; and both parties at once took action accordingly. In support of the French troops which were at her disposal, the Regent ordered levies from Clydesdale, Stirlingshire, and the Lothians to meet her at Stirling on the 24th of May. On their part, the insurgents strengthened the defences of Perth—according to Buchanan, the only walled town in Scotland—and addressed themselves to their brethren in Ayrshire for instant succour. As they were now engaged in what might be construed as rebellion, they took steps to justify themselves in the eyes of the world. In three manifestoes, probably the work of Knox, they addressed respectively the Regent, D'Oysel the French ambassador, and the whole Scottish nobility. In view of the past history of Scotland the insurgents could present a case which possessed sufficient plausibility. It had been the exception for the reign of a Scottish king to pass without some more or less

[1] This was the common designation for the mob at that time, though Knox is usually supposed to have invented it.

[2] Knox, *Works*, I. 320 *et seq.*

serious revolt on the ground of his alleged misgovernment. Even during the reign with which we are dealing there had been a fair precedent for the late proceedings of the Congregation. At the outset of the reign, the Earl of Arran had been as constitutionally appointed to the office of Regent as Mary of Lorraine herself; yet on the pretext that Arran was giving away the country to England and to heresy, Beaton and the French party had taken up arms against him and undone all his actions to which they objected. But as Mary of Lorraine was now governing the country, the danger of a French conquest was much more serious than had been the danger of conquest by England. On the ground that the State was in peril, therefore, there was ample justification for the action of the Protestant leaders. With regard to religion, the good of the commonwealth might equally be urged as a plea for the most drastic dealing with the national Church. By the admission of its own officials the Church had become a scandal, alike from the character of the clergy and its general neglect of its duties as a spiritual body. For at least a century the scandal had been growing; and good citizens had been forced to the conclusion that their accredited spiritual guides were either unable or unwilling to set their house in order.

But the time demanded deeds more than words. With a force of about 8000 French and Scots, D'Oysel, the Regent's chief adviser, advanced to Auchterarder, some twelve miles from Perth. With this formidable force behind her the Regent naturally expected that her rebellious subjects would be disposed to abate their demands. To learn what terms they would now be willing to accept, she sent to Perth the Lord James Stewart, Lord Sempill, and the Earl of Argyle. They were told that the town would be surrendered if assurance were given of freedom of worship and security to the worshippers. As a reply to these demands, the Regent despatched the Lyon King-of-arms to make proclamation that all should "avoid the toune under pane of treasone." At this moment, however, the Earl of Glencairn, at the head of a body of 2500 Ayrshire Protestants, made his way to within six miles of Perth. Thus checkmated, the Regent was again driven to a compromise; and on the conditions that she should quarter no French troops in the town and grant perfect freedom of worship, the gates were at length thrown open to her. Thus closed the first act of the drama of the Scottish Reformation[1].

[1] Knox, *Works*, I. 341 *et seq.*; *Wodrow Miscel.*, I. 58 *et seq.*; Buchanan, p. 314.

This good understanding was of short duration. Again the action of the Regent gave rise to an accusation of broken pledges. She kept to the letter of the late 1559 compact, but she evaded its spirit. She did not quarter French troops in the town, but she occupied it with Scottish soldiers in French pay, and in further disregard of her pledges treated the Protestants with a harshness which gave rise to bitter complaint on the part of their leaders. Argyle and the Lord James, the two most prominent of these leaders, had accompanied her into Perth (May 29); but, indignant at these proceedings, they secretly quitted the town and at once took action to make good their protests. Summoning the Protestant gentlemen of Angus and the Mearns to meet them in St Andrews on the 3rd of June, they proceeded to that town, as the best centre of action after Perth. In St Andrews as in Perth it is John Knox who is again the outstanding figure. Here his preaching was attended by the same notable results. The monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans were practically demolished by the mob, and with the approval of the magistrates every church in the town was stripped of its ornaments. Meanwhile, the Regent had not been idle, and was now at Falkland with a force led by D'Oysel and Châtelherault. Confident in their strength, those two leaders marched towards Cupar with the intention of dealing with St Andrews. But again they discovered that they had miscalculated the resources of the insurgents. Issuing from St Andrews, with little over a hundred horse, Argyle and the Lord James were speedily reinforced by contingents from Lothian and Fife, which raised their numbers to above 3000 men. Thus strengthened, they took up their position on Cupar Muir, and awaited the approach of the Regent's forces. But in numbers these forces were now inferior to those of the enemy; and, as many of the French soldiers were Huguenots and secretly sympathised with their fellow-believers, the issue of a battle could not but be doubtful. Again, therefore, there was no alternative for the Regent but to temporise. It was agreed that there should be a truce of eight days, that the Regent's forces now in Fife should be removed from that county, and that, during the armistice, an attempt should be made to effect some permanent understanding[1].

The new arrangement proved as hollow as the first. In point of fact, it was borne in on both parties that the struggle had but begun, and that the sword only could end it. 1559

[1] Knox, *Works*, I. 353, 354.

Already, therefore, both were looking for external support wherewith to crush their opponents. The very day after the compact at Cupar, D'Oysel wrote to the French ambassador in London that only a body of French troops could maintain the Regent's authority[1]. On their part, the Protestant leaders now entered on those negotiations with England, which eventually led to results that gave Scotland definitively to Protestantism and united the destinies of the two nations. Meanwhile, however, the Regent and her revolted subjects had to fight their own battles. The truce effected nothing, and it had no sooner expired than hostilities recommenced. The first object of the leaders of the Congregation was to relieve their brethren in Perth, and on the 24th of June they sat down before that place in such numbers that it immediately and unconditionally surrendered. Perth, Dundee, and St Andrews were now in their hands; but, having gone thus far, their only hope lay in giving still further proof of the strength of their cause. It was reported that the Regent meant to stop their progress southwards at Stirling Bridge; but, before she could effect her object, they entered that town with the consent of the majority of the citizens. By the 29th of June they were in possession of the capital, whence Mary of Lorraine had fled to the Castle of Dunbar[2].

The cause of the Congregation now appeared to be triumphant, but it contained elements of weakness of which everyone was aware and which speedily became manifest. The acts of violence, which had attended the revolt, were filling the law-abiding citizen with dismay. The destruction of Church property in Perth and St Andrews had been followed by similar excesses elsewhere. Especially disquieting had been what had occurred at Scone immediately after the surrender of Perth. In defiance of the protests of Knox, the Lord James, and Argyle, the reformers of Dundee had sacked and burned to the ground the abbey and palace of that village—an outrage which Knox himself regretted in the interest of his own cause[3]. It was a further source of weakness to the Congregation that their actions easily lent themselves to misconstruction and misrepresentation. The Regent industriously spread the plausible report both at home and abroad that their religious professions were a mere pretext, and that their real object was to overthrow herself and to make the Lord James their king. But,

[1] Teulet, I. 311.

[2] Knox, *Works*, I. 358 *et seq.*; Leslie, 274.

[3] Knox, I. 359—362.

above all, the nature of the host that supported them was such that it invariably failed them when their need was the greatest. The men who composed it had to leave their daily business in town and country; and, as they received no pay and their own affairs demanded their attention, their military service did not extend beyond a few weeks. The Protestant leaders had no sooner taken possession of Edinburgh than their following began to dwindle. During the first week their numbers amounted to over 7000 men; by the third week they had diminished to 1500. In these circumstances the Regent had only to bide her time, and her opportunity must come.

On the 23rd of July, her troops, led by D'Oysel and Châtelherault, marched on Leith, which they reached on the morning of the 24th. As had been anticipated, neither that town nor the capital itself was in a position to offer any effectual resistance; and the leaders of the Congregation at once proposed a conference for the discussion of terms. Accordingly, the Duke and the Earl of Huntly, on the one side, and Argyle, the Lord James, and Glencairn, on the other, met on the east slope of the Calton Hill and agreed to the following adjustment. The Congregation were to give up the coining-irons, of which they had taken possession, and they were to evacuate Edinburgh within twenty-four hours. The town was to be left free to choose its own religion; no French troops were to be introduced; the Protestants were to be allowed complete liberty of worship, but were to abstain from violence against the old religion, and these arrangements were to hold till the 10th of the following January[1]. By this concession of liberty to worship according to their own conscience the Protestants had apparently attained the main object for which they had risen, but they well knew that they would enjoy this liberty only so long as they were strong enough to enforce it. On leaving Edinburgh, therefore, they proceeded to Stirling, where they came to an agreement as to their future plan of action. As a necessary precaution for their immediate security they entered into a bond of mutual defence and concerted counsels. Above all, they determined to spare no pains to win support from England, which, as itself now a Protestant country, could not look on with indifference

[1] The terms of this arrangement are given in Knox, Buchanan, the *Wodrow Miscellany*, Leslie, and Teulet. The last two authorities omit the clause regarding the quartering of French troops in Edinburgh.

while they were engaged in a life and death struggle with France and Rome.

An event that had lately happened gave a new impulse to French action in Scotland. On the 10th of July
1559 Henry II died of a wound received in a tournament; and Mary Stewart, the niece of the Guises, was now Queen of France. It was with greater zeal than ever, therefore, that the Guises sought to direct Scottish affairs according to their own interests. In the beginning of August the Protestant lords took a decided step: they sent John Knox to England with instructions that might serve as a basis of a treaty between England and the Congregation. The instructions were that if England would assist them against France, the Congregation would agree to a common league against that country. Knox only went as far as Berwick; but he brought home a letter containing a reply to the Protestant overtures from Elizabeth's secretary, Sir William Cecil. The reply was discouraging; but it contained a practical suggestion, by which, however, the Protestant leaders were either unwilling or unable to profit. If it was money they were in need of, Cecil told them, that need present no difficulty; if they would but do as Henry VIII did with the monasteries, they would have enough money and to spare. The English queen was, in truth, in a position that demanded the wariest going. Two-thirds of her own subjects were Catholics, and it would be an evil example to set them if she were to assist rebels in another country. Moreover, the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, concluded in the previous April, debarred her from hostile demonstration against France. But the peril from French ascendency in Scotland could not be ignored, and by the gradual pressure of events Elizabeth was driven to support a course which in her heart she abhorred. Shortly after Cecil's communication, the veteran diplomatist, Sir Ralph Sadler, came down to Scotland with a commission to effect a secret arrangement with the Protestant leaders, and brought with him £3000 to distribute to the best of his wisdom[1].

What the Guises meant speedily became apparent. About the middle of August a thousand French soldiers landed at
1559 Leith; and, as they were accompanied by their wives and children, the object of their coming could not be misunderstood. If the leaders of the Congregation, therefore, were not to lose all the ground they had lately gained, a time for vigorous

[1] Knox, II. 50; VI. 51—55; Sadler, I. 387 *et seq.*

action had again come. As had been previously concerted, they met at Stirling on the 10th of September and took counsel as to their further action. Here they were joined by an ally, who by his rank and his claims was of the first importance to their cause. This was the Earl of Arran, the eldest son of the Duke of Châtelherault, who, a few months previously, had been forced to flee from France by reason of his Protestant sympathies. The value of the new confederate was soon realised. Passing to Hamilton Palace, the insurgent leaders there met the Duke himself, to whom they held out such alluring prospects that he openly identified himself with their cause. During these transactions at Hamilton alarming news came of the doings of the Regent. It was reported that she was busily engaged in fortifying Leith—a proceeding, the Congregation maintained, in direct violation of the late treaty. Disregarding their protest, she steadily proceeded with the work; and, as she was strengthened by a new contingent of 800 French men-at-arms, her position by the middle of the autumn was such as to excite alarm alike in Scotland and England. Again there was no arbitrament but the sword.

On the 16th of October the insurgent leaders entered Edinburgh with the intention of laying siege to Leith, where the Regent had taken refuge as the safest place in the kingdom. One of their earliest steps was the most audacious they had yet taken. They formally deposed Mary of Lorraine from the Regency, on the ground that she had ruled as a tyrant and was betraying the country to a foreign enemy. But they soon found that they had undertaken a task beyond their strength. Their force amounted to but 8000 men, most of whom were "cuntrie fellows" with no experience in war, and whose service could not extend beyond a few weeks. To this undisciplined host was opposed a garrison of 3000 trained soldiers, with the command of the sea, and intrenched in a town fortified after the best military art of the time. Fortune, moreover, was against the Congregation from the first. A new instalment of £1000, secretly sent by Elizabeth, was cleverly seized by James, Earl of Bothwell, afterwards the notorious helpmate of Mary Stewart. Their arms, also, met with no success. While a detachment of their troops was in pursuit of Bothwell, the enemy found their opportunity and made their way even into the streets of Edinburgh; and on the 25th of November the reformers sustained so severe a reverse that the capital was no longer a safe place for them. They had no money to pay the few mercenaries

whom they had hired; the town was tired of them; and the Earl Marischal, who had charge of the castle, held resolutely aloof. As at the close of their previous rising, the leaders held a council at Stirling to determine their future policy. Before they entered on their deliberations Knox was called upon to preach a sermon—Knox, of whom it was said, that he "put more life" into those who heard him "than five hundred trumpets continually blustering" in their ears. The deliberations that succeeded took a sufficiently practical shape. Young Maitland of Lethington, who had lately deserted the Regent for the Congregation, was despatched to England with offers that might induce Elizabeth to give direct support to the cause of Protestantism in Scotland. As to their own future action, the lords made the following arrangement. Châtelherault, Argyle, Glencairn, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree were to make their headquarters in Glasgow; while Arran, the Lord James, the Lords Rothes and Ruthven, and John Knox were to act from St Andrews as their centre. Their counsels at an end, they separated with the intention of reassembling at Stirling on the 16th of December. They had thus tried two falls with the Regent, and in both they had been worsted: the third trial of strength was to have a different ending[1].

The Regent was not slow to follow up her advantage. She took possession of the capital two days after the Congregation had quitted it, and she tried hard, but in vain, to persuade the Earl Marischal to surrender the Castle. The arrival of fresh reinforcements from France at the beginning of December enabled her to abandon her defensive policy and to take decisive measures for the suppression of revolt. On Christmas Day, while the Protestant lords were in council at Stirling, two detachments of her troops, commanded by D'Oysel, drove them precipitately from the town. Pursuing his advantage, D'Oysel despatched his troops across Stirling Bridge into Fife, and he himself with another detachment crossed from Leith—apparently with the object of gaining possession of St Andrews. The task proved a hard one. At every step he was beset by the Scots under Argyle and the Lord James. "The said Earl and Lord James," says Knox, "for twenty and one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off; they had skirmishing almost every day; yea, some days, from morn to even." Yet in the teeth of all obstacles D'Oysel steadily forced his way to within six miles of St Andrews, where Knox and his

[1] Knox, I. 396 *et seq.*; VI. 53, 54; Sadler, I. 461 *et seq.*; Teulet, I. 379 *et seq.*

friends had all but abandoned hope. But unexpected deliverance was at hand. On the 23rd of January (1560) a fleet of strange vessels appeared at the mouth of the Firth of Forth. As a French fleet had been expected for some weeks, D'Oysel concluded that this armament had come at last. He was soon undeceived. Under his eyes the strangers seized two ships bearing provisions from Leith to his own camp. The strange vessels were the advance squadron of a fleet sent by Elizabeth to block the Firth of Forth against further succours from France. It was now D'Oysel who was in extremities; and before he found himself safe in Linlithgow he had vivid experience at once of the rigours of a Scotch winter and of the savage hate which his countrymen had come to inspire in the nation which for three centuries had called them friends and allies[1]. 1560

Meanwhile, the mission of Maitland to the English Court was about to lead to one of the most notable compacts in the national history. At Berwick-on-Tweed the Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and three other Scottish commissioners met the Duke of Norfolk and concluded a treaty (Feb. 27) which was to ensure the eventual triumph of the Congregation, to make Scotland a Protestant country, and at a later day a constituent part of a Greater Britain. The treaty was in effect a bond of mutual defence against France—Elizabeth having reluctantly consented that an English army should at once enter Scotland and assist the Congregation in driving the French soldiery out of the country[2]. While her revolted subjects were thus making strong their hands against her, fortune was otherwise deserting the cause of the Regent. A great French armament, which was to have brought over a force sufficient to crush all opposition, had been driven back by a succession of storms; and she herself was already stricken with the disease which was soon to carry her off. In these circumstances there was but one course open to her—to fall back on the policy of self-defence and patient waiting on events. After one somewhat wanton expedition against Glasgow and the Hamiltons, her troops finally (March 29) retired within the fortifications of Leith, and she herself at her special request was received into the Castle of Edinburgh[3].

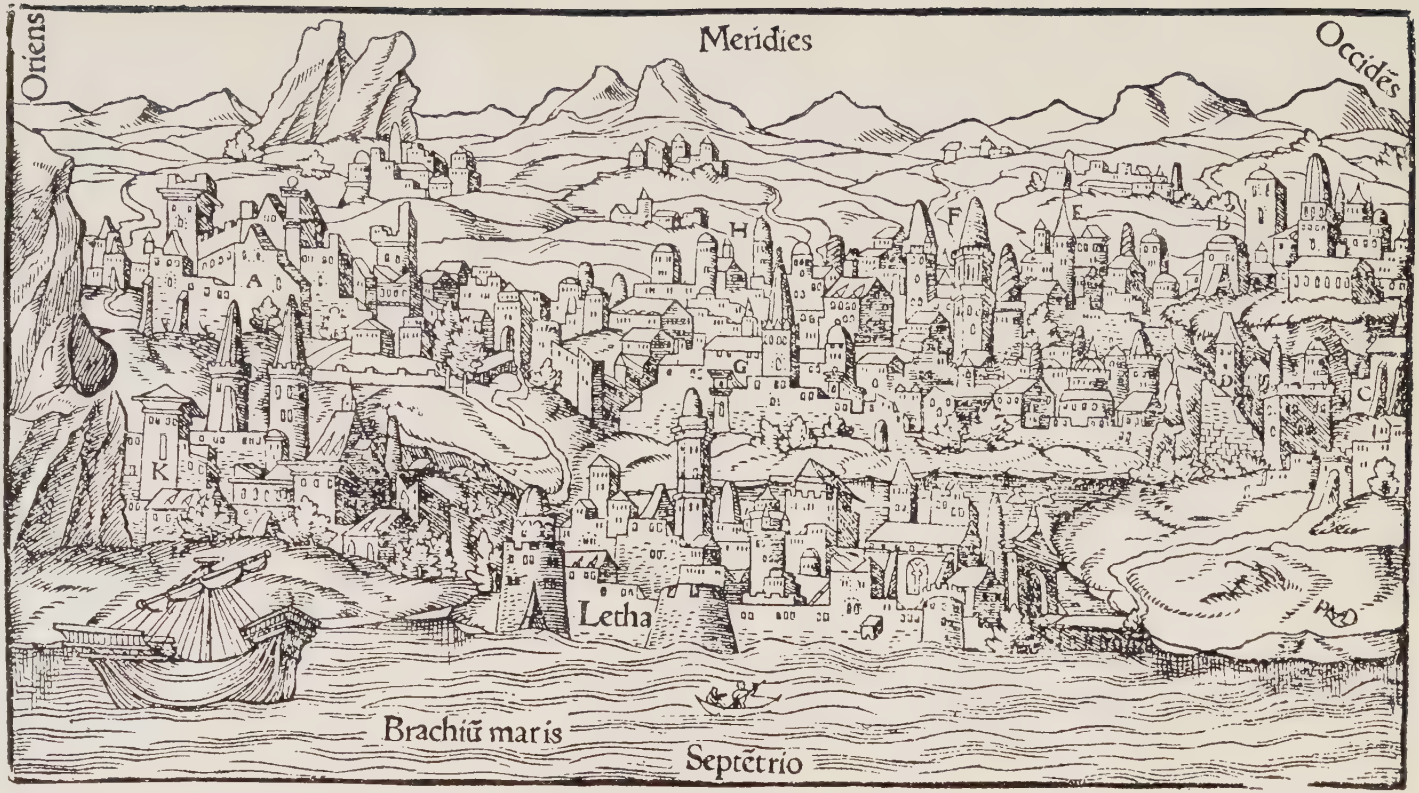
[1] Teulet, I. 404 *et seq.*; *Wodrow Miscell.*, I. 75; Knox, II. 9; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 55; Keith, *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, I. 408.

[2] *Wodrow Miscell.*, I. 79; Knox, II. 45.

[3] *Wodrow Miscell.*, I. 80, 81; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 56, 57.

On the 4th of April the English and Scottish hosts joined forces at Prestonpans, and on the 6th they sat down before Leith. The spectacle was one suggestive of many reflections: English and Scots, immemorial foes, were fighting side by side against the ancient friend of the one, the ancient enemy of the other: there could not be a more memorable illustration of the saying that "events sometimes mount the saddle and ride men." Even with their united strength the allies had a formidable task before them. At the outset of the siege the English amounted to about 9000 men, the Scots to 10,000; but before many weeks had gone, these numbers had dwindled to a half. With this force the English commander, Lord Gray, had to besiege a town, defended by 4000 trained soldiers and fortified by the most skilful engineers of the time. Two severe reverses sustained by the allies proved that in discipline and skill they were no match for the enemy. On the 14th of April the French sallied from the town, and, breaking through the English trenches, slew 200 men. A combined assault on the town (May 7) was brilliantly repulsed—the English and Scots leaving 800 dead and wounded in the trenches[1]. It was not long before all three parties were sick of the contest. The Guises had their hands full at home and needed every soldier they had; Elizabeth heartily disliked the task of assisting rebel subjects and grudged every penny that was spent in it; and the Congregation had never been in a position to support a protracted war. The death of the Regent on the 10th of June must have quickened the desire of the Guises for peace; for where she had failed to effect their purposes no one else was likely to succeed. Alike by her own character and gifts and by the momentous policy of which she was the agent, Mary of Lorraine is one of the remarkable figures in Scottish history. It was her misfortune—a misfortune due to her birth and connections—that she found herself from the first in direct antagonism to the natural development of the country of her adoption, and that the circumstances in which she ruled were such as to bring into prominence the least worthy traits of the proud race from which she sprang. Yet in personal appearance, as in courage and magnificence, she was the true sister of Henry of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, "the pope and king of France." Construed in a larger and more charitable sense than that in which they were written, the words of Knox fitly enough sum up her career—she was "unhappy...to Scotland from

[1] Haynes, *State Papers*, I. 348; *Wodrow Miscell.*, I. 83.



Map of Edinburgh and Leith, 1550.

the first day she entered into it unto the day she finished her unhappy life[1]."

On the 16th of June Commissioners arrived from England and France with powers to effect an arrangement between the contending parties. From England came Cecil and Dr Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York; and from France, Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and Charles de Rochefoucauld, Sieur de Randan. From the beginning the French representatives gave it to be understood that any treaty that might be made was exclusively between England and France; the Congregation were rebel subjects with whom their prince could in no wise treat. After many difficulties that more than once threatened to put an end to further negotiations, a settlement was at length reached (July 6). The final arrangement signally proved how hopeless the Guises were of their immediate prospects in Scotland. Mary and Francis were to desist from using the arms of England; no Frenchman was henceforth to hold any important office in Scotland; the fortifications of Leith were to be demolished; and the French soldiers, with the exception of 120, were at once to be sent home to their own country. Till the return of Mary the government was to be entrusted to twelve persons, of whom she was to appoint seven, and the Estates five[2]. In the treaty no arrangement was made regarding religion; but, with the powers now placed at their disposal, there could be little doubt how the Protestant leaders would interpret the omission. Thus had Elizabeth and the Congregation gained every point for which they had striven; and their victory may be said to have determined the future, not only of Britain, but of Protestantism. So far as Scotland is concerned, the Treaty of Edinburgh marks the central point of her history. 1560

It now remained to be seen to what uses the Protestant party would put their victory. The simultaneous departure of the French and English troops relieved them from all restraint; and four days later the great deliverance was signalised by a solemn thanksgiving in the Church of St Giles. For the effectual spreading of the Protestant doctrine preachers were planted in various parts of the country—Knox being appointed to the principal charge in Edinburgh. But it was the approaching assembly of the Estates to which all men were looking with hopes or fears according to their desires and interests. The Estates met on the 3rd of August;

[1] Knox, II. 71. [2] Keith, I. 300.

but it was not till the 8th that the attendance was complete. It was to be the most important national assembly in the history of the Scottish people; and the numbers of the different classes who flocked to it showed that the momentous nature of the crisis was fully realised[1]. Specially noteworthy was the crowd of smaller barons from all parts of the country. So unusual was the appearance of these persons that it had almost been forgotten that they had an original right to sit in the House[2]. A question raised as to the legality of an assembly, which met independently of the summons or the presence of the sovereign, was decisively set aside; and the House addressed itself to the great issues involved in the late revolution. The question of religion, as at the root of the whole controversy, took precedence of every other. The first proceeding showed the national instinct for the logical conduct of human affairs. The Estates instructed the ministers to draw up a statement of Protestant doctrine, which might serve at once as a chart for their future guidance and a justification for their present and their future action. In four days the task (an easy one for Knox and his brother ministers) was accomplished; and under twenty-five heads the Estates had before them what was henceforth to be the creed of the majority of the Scottish people. Article by article the Confession was read and considered, and, after a feeble protest by the bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, approved and ratified by an overwhelming majority of the Estates. The way being thus cleared, the next step was the logical conclusion of all the past action of the Protestant leaders. In three successive Acts, all passed in one day, it was decreed that the national Church should cease to exist. The first Act abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope; the second condemned all doctrines and practices contrary to the new creed; and the third forbade the celebration of mass within the bounds of Scotland. The penalties attached to the breach of these enactments were those approved and sanctioned by the example of every country in Christendom. Confiscation for the first offence, exile for the

[1] There were present the Duke of Châtelherault and thirteen earls, the Archbishop of St Andrews and five bishops, nineteen lords, twenty ecclesiastics, twenty-two commissioners of burghs, a hundred and ten barons, and many others. Teulet, I. 614 (Instructions to the Lord St John).

[2] By an Act of James I it was ordained that all prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders of the king should attend Parliament in person and not by procurators; and another Act of the same reign ordained that the small barons and free tenants should choose two "wise men" for each sheriffdom as their representatives.—*Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, II. 9, 15. The latter Act appears to have remained a dead letter.

second, and death for the third—such were to be the successive punishments for the saying or hearing of mass.

Thus apparently had Knox and his fellow-workers attained the end of all their labours; and it is instructive to compare the history of their struggle with the experiences of other countries where the same religious conflicts had successively arisen. In Germany the terrible Peasants' War had been the direct result of Luther's revolt from Rome; and in England the ecclesiastical revolution had been followed by the religious atrocities of Henry VIII, by the anarchy under Edward VI, and by the remorseless fanaticism of Mary Tudor. While the Congregation was in the midst of its struggles with Mary of Lorraine, Philip II was dealing with heresy in Spain. How effectually he dealt with it is one of the notable chapters in the histories of nations. Here it is sufficient to recall a single fact in illustration of the relative experiences of Scotland and Spain. In 1559 Philip and his Court, amid the applause of a crowd of above 200,000 from all parts of Castille, sanctioned with their presence the burning at Valladolid of a band of persons, mostly women, accused of the crime of heresy. In France the appearance of the new religion had evoked passions alike among the people and their rulers, which were to give that country an evil pre-eminence in the ferocity of national and individual action. The *chambre ardente*, the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551), the massacre of Amboise (1560), the thirty years of intermittent civil war (1562–1592),—these were the successive events of frightful significance that mark the development of the religious conflict in France. Compared with the tale of blood and confusion that has to be told of Germany, France, England, and Spain, the history of the Reformation in Scotland is a record of order and tranquillity. What is thrust upon us by the narrative of events in Scotland is the singular moderation alike of the representatives of the old and the new religion. Heretics had been burned indeed, but the number was inconsiderable compared with that of similar victims in other countries; and, even in the day of their triumph, the Scottish Protestants, in spite of the stern threat of their legislation, were guiltless of a single execution on the ground of religion. What is still more striking is that difference of faith begot no fanatical hate among the mass of the people. In France and Spain men forgot the ties of blood and country in the blind fury of religious zeal; but in Scotland we do not find town arrayed against town and neighbour denouncing neighbour on the ground of a different faith. That this tolerance was not due to indifference the religious history

of Scotland abundantly proves. It was in the convulsions attending the change of the national faith that the Scottish nation first attained to a consciousness of itself, and the characteristics it then displayed have remained its distinctive characteristics ever since. It is precisely the combination of a fervid temper with logical thinking and temperate action that have distinguished the Scottish people in all the great crises of their history.

1560 It soon appeared that the Protestant triumph was not so complete as it might have seemed. Those who saw furthest—and none was more keenly alive to the fact than Knox—were well aware that many a battle must yet be fought before the new temple they had built should stand secure against the assault of open enemies and equivocal friends. The inherent difficulties of the situation became speedily manifest. Mary and Francis refused to ratify the late measures—a fact, says Knox, "we little regarded or do regard." What Knox did regard, however, was the continued alliance and support of England; and he was now to learn that, having attained her own objects, Elizabeth was not disposed to be specially cordial in her future relations to the Protestants in Scotland. It had been for some time in the minds of the Protestant leaders that a marriage between Elizabeth and the Earl of Arran would be an excellent arrangement for both countries[1]; and in October a commission was actually sent to make the proposal. The reply of Elizabeth was that she was "presently not disposed to marry." An important event made this rebuff additionally unwelcome: on the 5th of December, Francis II, the husband of Mary Stewart, unexpectedly died. Had her husband lived, Mary might have continued to reside in France, which had been so long her home, and Scotland might have been left in large degree to settle its own affairs. Now the probability was that Mary would return to her own country, and with all the authority and prestige of a legitimate sovereign renew the battle that had been lost by her mother. It was, therefore, with gloomy forebodings that all sincere well-wishers to the Reformed Church in Scotland saw the close of this year of their apparent triumph.

1561 If there were these apprehensions from enemies, there was likewise a growing alarm from the attitude of lukewarm and dubious friends. The sincerity and good faith of all who had taken part in the late revolution was about to be subjected

[1] This marriage had been in the mind of Henry VIII. See Froude, *Hist. of England*, Chap. XXXVII.

to the most stringent of tests. By the enactments of the preceding year the ancient Church had been swept away; but the work of rearing a new edifice in its place still remained to be accomplished. With this object the Protestant ministers had been entrusted with the task of drafting a constitution for a new Church which should take the place of the old. The ministers had discharged their trust, and the result of their labours was laid before the Estates which met in Edinburgh on the 15th of January, 1561.

The document presented to the Estates was the famous "Book of Discipline"—the most interesting and, in many respects, the most important of public documents in the history of Scotland. If any proof were needed that the revolt against the ancient Church was no ill-considered act of irresponsible men, we assuredly possess that proof in this extraordinary book. Though in its primary intention the scheme of an ecclesiastical polity, it is in fact the draft of a "republic," under which a nation should live its life on earth and prepare itself for heaven. It not only prescribes a creed, and supplies a complete system of Church government: it suggests a scheme of national education, it defines the relation of Church and State, it provides for the poor and unable, it regulates the life of households, it even determines the career of such as by their natural gifts were specially fitted to be of service to Church or State. As we shall see, the suggestions of the Book of Discipline were to be but imperfectly realised; yet, by defining the ideals and moulding the temper and culture of the prevailing majority of the Scottish people, it has been one of the great formative influences in the national development.

It was on this memorable document that the Estates were now to sit in judgment. In the case of the Confession of Faith they had been practically unanimous; but that had been a mere statement of abstract docrines which involved no question of worldly interests, and might be subscribed with a light heart and with any degree of spiritual conviction. With the Book of Discipline it was very different. The fundamental question that had to be answered in that Book was the question of the "sustentation" of the new Church. The answer given was the most natural in the world: the reformed Church had an indisputable right to the entire inheritance of the Church it had displaced. There were, however, two formidable difficulties in the way of this claim. Without manifest injustice the ancient clergy could not be deprived whole-

sale of their means of subsistence. The second difficulty was also formidable. Of late years a considerable amount of Church property had passed into the hands of the nobles, barons, and gentry. Would these persons now be willing to lay their possessions at the feet of the ministers from whom they professed to have received the true gospel? The proceedings of the Convention left no doubt as to the answer. As in the preceding August, the assembly was a crowded one, but on this occasion there was no such unanimous action. "Some approved it," says Knox, "and willed the same have been set forth by a law. Others, perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity somewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, insomuch that the name of Book of Discipline became odious unto them. Everything that repugned to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage 'devout imaginations'[1]." After long and heated debates no definite conclusion was reached. A large number of the nobles and barons, however, signed the Book as being "good and conform to God's word in all points[2]"; but they signed it with a qualification that did them credit. The old clergy should be allowed to retain their livings on condition of their maintaining Protestant ministers in their respective districts. The denunciations of Knox have given an evil name to this Convention of the Estates, yet the act of spoliation to which he would have had them put their hands would have done little credit to a religion whose special claim was to have reproduced the purity and simplicity of the primitive gospel.

1561 While the supporters of the Reformation were thus divided among themselves, the prospect of the queen's approaching return was further confounding their counsels. That she must be their open or their secret foe, they could have no manner of doubt. Her character and opinions had been formed under the immediate supervision of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine; and to the French Protestants the Cardinal was already known as "le tigre de France." As a Catholic and as a queen, her natural desire must be to undo the work of the late revolution, which she could only regard as the work of rebels and heretics. "Whenever she comes," wrote Randolph, the English resident, "I believe there will be a mad world[3]." Mary might prove to be as able as her mother, and she would possess many advantages over Mary of Lorraine in any contest with her subjects. She was the

[1] Knox, II. 128. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Randolph to Cecil, 26th February.

legitimate sovereign of the country; and, now that the immediate danger from France was removed by the death of her husband, there was no reason why the national party, as distinguished alike from Catholic and Protestant, should not return to its natural allegiance. Moreover, though with the help of England Protestantism had triumphed in the late trial of strength, the great majority in the country—nobles, barons, and commons—were still on the side of the old religion.

Even before her return, Mary had clearly indicated the policy she intended to follow. In February she had sent deputies to the Estates to urge the renewal of the ancient league with France—a step which, at their meeting in May, the Estates decisively refused to take, as being the virtual abandonment of their cause. In view of her imminent return, Mary's supporters began to bestir themselves in a fashion that boded ill for the future peace of the country. At Stirling the bishops met in council to consider their best policy; and we have it from one of their own number that they were acting in concert with the Earls Huntly, Athole, Crawford, Marischal, Sutherland, Caithness, and Bothwell. As the result of their counsels, a proposal was sent to Mary which she had the prudence to reject in her own interest as well as in the interest of her kingdom. The proposal was that she should land at some point on the northern coast, where the Earls would be ready to support her with 20,000 men[1]. As a safer course for the immediate future Mary chose the advice proffered to her by the party for the present in the ascendant. Through the Lord James Stewart as their deputy the Protestant leaders urged upon her the necessity of leaving religion as she would find it, and of adopting as her advisers the persons now at the head of affairs[2]. When at length on the 19th of August, 1561, Mary landed at Leith, it appeared that at least for the time she was content to take things as she found them. That she would accept them as definitive, no one, and least of all John Knox, could so far delude himself as to believe.

1561

[1] Leslie.

[2] Philippson, *Histoire du Règne de Marie Stuart*, Vol. III., Appendix A.

CHAPTER III.

MARY (1561—1567).

English Sovereign.
Elizabeth ... ... 1558—1603

French King.
Charles IX ... ... 1560—1574

King of Spain: Philip II
Popes: Pius IV, Pius V

I. MARY AND ELIZABETH.

DURING the actual reign of Mary Stewart Scotland occupied the mind of Europe in a greater degree than at any other period of its history. Through a strange combination of persons, events and tendencies, the country found itself in a position that rendered its affairs the concern of Christendom. Of the four chief powers in Europe—England, France, Spain, and the Court of Rome—each had its own interests at stake in the fortunes of Mary Stewart and the political and religious developments of her kingdom. In her own precarious position Elizabeth could never cease to regard with anxiety the relations of Mary Stewart and her subjects. In the opinion of Roman Catholic Europe Mary was the rightful queen of England; and Elizabeth was not slow to learn that in Mary she had a rival who would let no occasion slip of making her claims good. France, also, had reasons of its own for maintaining its old ascendency in Scotland. Though by the death of Francis II both the position of the Guises and that of their niece, Mary Stewart, were no longer what they had been, they fully realised the importance of their near relation to the Queen of Scots and never forgot that a happy turn of fortune might see her the proudest ruler in Europe. Moreover, the policy of Elizabeth towards France made the traditional alliance with Scotland as necessary as ever. Elizabeth assisted the French Protestants, and she would have assisted them still more but for the fear of what Scotland might do at the bidding of France. For Spain, also, political and religious considerations alike made Mary Stewart a

personage of high importance. To extinguish heresy and to make Spain the first power of Europe were the two great aims of Philip; and for the attainment of these ends the Queen of Scots might seem the providential instrument. If her claim to the throne of England could be made good, and if she were to become the wife of Don Carlos, the son and heir of Philip, the ascendency of Spain and the healing of the Church would alike be happily consummated. Unluckily, however, for his father's ambition, the apparent heir of these great destinies was a moral abortion whom not even the diplomacy of the 16th century could turn to account. Scotland being thus important in the eyes of those who governed Europe, the Court of Rome could not in the interests of the Church afford to neglect her. In the great Catholic reaction, known as the Counter-Reformation, it was of the first importance that Mary Stewart should take the place of Elizabeth Tudor; and we shall see that, at a moment in Mary's career when she had the Protestant chiefs at her feet, Pope Pius IV actually sent money to strengthen her hands in the good cause.

While the leading powers of Europe were thus so keenly interested in the affairs of Scotland, their action with regard to her never went beyond mere diplomacy. From the date of Mary's return to Scotland till her flight to England after the battle of Langside neither foreign friend nor foreign foe set foot within the country. For this immunity from foreign intervention there was a double reason. Their mutual fears and jealousies effectually prevented any one of them from adopting a decided policy towards Scotland without anxious consideration of its rivals. Moreover, the internal condition of England, France, and Spain, throughout the whole period of Mary's actual reign, was such as to leave them little opportunity for foreign enterprises on a scale adequate to effect a revolution in Britain. For if the reign of Mary Stewart was a time of disasters and tragedies in Scotland, it was no less a time of desperate counsels, of popular fury, and imminent national ruin in other countries of Europe. The uncertainty of the succession and the division of religious opinion rendered the first years of Elizabeth one of the critical periods in English history. In his policy of suppressing heresy in the Low Countries, Philip II had undertaken a task which engrossed his main energies, and which was to result in one of the great disasters of the Spanish monarchy. During the period that coincides with the reign of Mary Stewart, it was France, however, that had the pre-eminence in misfortune. In

these years occurred the first two of those religious wars, which, unexampled for the ferocity of the combatants, threatened the dismemberment of the kingdom. In these circumstances, therefore, Scotland, on whose action the future of Christendom may be said to have depended, held its own course and wrought out its own destinies. The chief agents of that policy had their eyes constantly fixed on the potentates who swayed Europe, but they acted on their own initiative and relied mainly on their own resources. What is singular is, that, in spite of all the forces that threatened civil convulsions, the first four years after the return of Mary Stewart were among the most tranquil in the annals of the country. It is to the last three years of her reign that those sensational events belong which have made her one of the tragic and interesting figures of history. Yet what has been said of previous periods in the history of Scotland holds true even of these years of confusion and crime. While Mary and her rebellious lords were engaged in a life and death struggle for the direction of the country's destinies, the nation at large was living its own life; it was in Mary's reign that that middle class was definitively formed which was to determine the character and ideals of Scotland for three succeeding centuries.

It was on the morning of August 19, 1561, that Mary Stewart returned to her native country after an absence of thirteen years. In addition to her personal train she was attended by a following of lords and gentlemen, certain of whose names are alone sufficient to emphasise all the contrasts between the world she had left and the world to which she had come. There were three of her uncles of Guise, all identified with that family policy which had been fraught with such grave consequences to herself and her kingdom; there was the courtly Brantôme, the great literary portrait-painter of his time; and there was Châtelar, who, in an evil day for himself, had crossed the path of the enchantress.

1561 As her ship was moored on that morning which first brought her face to face with the burden that had fallen to her as "the daughter of a hundred kings," she must have needed all the encouragement of genuine friends and romantic adorers. She was but in her nineteenth year, and the task that lay before her might have daunted the ablest and most experienced of statesmen. By an untoward coincidence, on the August morning on which she arrived, there was so dense a mist that "in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face

of the heaven[1],"—a coincidence which, in the gloomy apprehension of Knox, foreboded all the evils that were to come. Yet, by spontaneous demonstrations of loyalty, her subjects of all classes did their utmost to convince her that she was welcome back to her own country. During her first night in Holyrood bonfires blazed, and she was serenaded with music which sounded somewhat differently in the ears of Knox and Brantôme[2]. On the following Sunday she was banqueted by the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh, and on the 22nd she made her solemn entry into the city, attended by the great majority of her nobility—Châtelherault and his son, the Earl of Arran, being the most conspicuous absentees. But even amid the shows which were prepared for her reception she was reminded of the change that had come over the spirit of her people: during her progress through the streets she was presented with a Bible and a Psalm-book, and images representing Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were burned on a scaffold as a significant reminder of the fate due to idolaters.

The difficulties of her position were speedily revealed. On the first Sunday after her return, mass was celebrated in her private chapel in Holyrood; and it was only by the special intervention of her half-brother, the Lord James Stewart, that a mob was prevented from interrupting the service. The following day Mary took a step which she repeated on various occasions during the remainder of her reign: she issued a proclamation forbidding any change in the existing religious settlement under pain of death. Even this proclamation, however, did not satisfy the more ardent of the reformers; and the Earl of Arran publicly protested against the liberty accorded to the queen's servants of directly infringing the laws of the kingdom. But a more formidable adversary than Arran lifted up his voice against all compromise. John Knox had seen with indignation the conduct of the Lord James in yielding to the religious scruples of his sister, and from his pulpit in St Giles he proclaimed what plagues had overtaken nations that had given themselves to idolatry. One mass, he told his hearers, was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the true religion. Mary was fully aware of the place that Knox already held in the minds of her people; and it was a step of the highest prudence to silence or gain him over. Whether of her own initiative or at the suggestion of her

1561

[1] Knox, II. 269.

[2] *Ibid.* 270, and note.

advisers, therefore, she summoned him to the first of those interviews which are not the least dramatic incidents of her varied career. Confident in the spells of rank and youth and beauty, she doubtless reckoned on an easy triumph over the homely man of the people; and, had Knox been merely a common demagogue, her conquest must have been assured. Her own fascinations were reinforced by the whole weight of court opinion, for the Protestant lords were as eager to silence the preacher as Mary herself. But Knox, with his fixed idea of a predestined function, was steeled alike against the frowns and sneers of men and the flatteries of women. According to Knox's own account of the interview, Mary displayed all that free and confident bearing and readiness of wit which impressed everyone who approached her. She charged him with disloyalty as a subject; and the conversation turned on the great question that had begun to agitate men's minds—the right of subjects to rebel against a bad ruler. "Think ye," asked Mary, "that subjects having power may resist their Princes?" "If their Princes exceed their bounds," was the hardy reply[1].

1561 If there was the religious difficulty at home, there was likewise a foreign question which involved equally important issues and demanded equally prudent action. This was the question of Mary's right of succession to the English throne. She and her friends had once conceived that by policy and arms she might displace the heretic and usurper Elizabeth; but the opportunity for this enterprise had gone, and she must now be content if she could be acknowledged as Elizabeth's immediate heir. To procure this acknowledgment was now her absorbing aim; and, as it happened, this aim supplied a bond of common action between her and her councillors. These councillors she chose on the 6th of September[2]; and the variety of opinions which they represented reveals the policy of compromise which was necessitated by the existing state of the country. Among the most notable of them were Châtelherault and his son the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, Errol, Morton, Glencairn, Montrose, the Earl Marischal, and the Lord James Stewart and Lord Erskine. But during the first four years of her reign it was by the advice of two men that she was mainly guided—Maitland of Lethington and the Lord James Stewart. Of the two, Maitland had the subtler and more cultivated mind, but he was a diplomatist rather than a statesman, and lacked the qualities

[1] Knox, II. 277—286. [2] *P. C. Register*, I. 157.

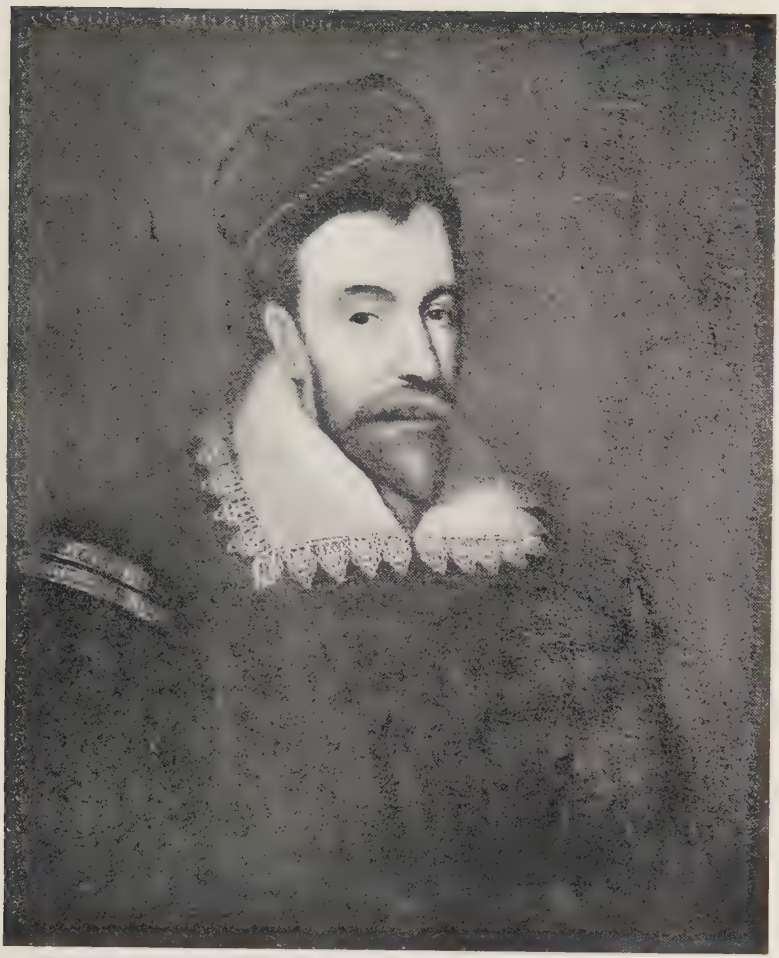
that inspire confidence in masses of men. The Lord James, on the other hand, was a plain man of affairs, who knew his own mind and whose actions were characterised by a decision and consistency which gave a cumulative force to his public career. Unlike as these men were, they were agreed on two main points touching the future of their country—the necessity of an eventual union of the English and Scottish Crowns, and, as a means to this end, the recognition of Mary as the immediate successor of Elizabeth. It was the desire of both, also, that this settlement should be made on the basis of Protestantism and not on the religion of Rome, for it was the confident anticipation of both that if Mary's ambition were gratified she would not hesitate to take the step which under similar circumstances was afterwards taken by Henry IV of France and sacrifice her faith to the interests of herself and her kingdom.

Even before Mary's return Maitland had written to Cecil and the Lord James to Elizabeth, suggesting the recognition of Mary's claim as in the best interest of both countries. 1561
But the bare suggestion of such an arrangement filled Elizabeth with a nervous dread, which was intensified by the attitude of Mary towards herself. Even while Mary was in France there were strained relations between the two queens. Mary had never signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, one of the clauses of which involved the abandonment of her immediate claim to the English Crown; and therefore, when she asked permission to pass home by way of England, Elizabeth refused to grant a passport unless Mary agreed to sign the treaty. But it was not in Mary's interest, as her affairs then stood, to be in unfriendly relations with Elizabeth; and before she had been a fortnight in Scotland she despatched Maitland to the English Court with messages "tending to the conservation of friendship and good neighbourhood[1]." From her nobility Maitland bore special instructions, of which Mary could not have been ignorant, though she did not identify herself with them. Elizabeth's answer was clear and decided. There could be no real friendship between the two countries till Mary had signed the late treaty. As for naming Mary as her successor, this would be to set her own winding-sheet before her eyes[2].

Thus, at the very outset, the prospects of the policy of compromise between Mary and the Protestant lords were not specially encouraging. It was requisite to the success of that policy that Mary's ambition should be gratified; and, as was to be proved,

[1] *P. C. Register*, XIV. 172. [2] *Ibid.* 174.

Elizabeth would never consent to name as her successor either the Queen of Scots or anyone else. With regard to the question of religion the difficulty was equally insurmountable. As men thought and felt in the 16th century, the coexistence of two religions in the same State was a natural impossibility; and in Scotland as elsewhere this was soon to be shown. During the closing months of 1561, a succession of incidents proved that the Protestant lords could not hope to carry with them the bulk of their fellow-believers. On the 21st of September the magistrates of Edinburgh, in accordance with ancient custom, ordered the statutes of the town to be publicly proclaimed. Among these statutes was one which ordained that all malefactors should be ejected from the town; and in that class were now reckoned such as adhered to the old religion. To the indignation of Knox, Mary with the approval of Maitland and the Lord James consigned the magistrates to the Tolbooth and ordered the election of a new municipal body. On the 1st of November another incident intensified the growing quarrel between Knox and his former friends. The festival of All Saints was celebrated "with all mischievous solemnity"; and the question was hotly debated whether the queen had a right to set aside the late enactments against the mass. But it was when the General Assembly of the Reformed Church met in December that the breach was fully revealed. On previous occasions, the lords, the lesser barons, gentlemen, and ministers had all met in one place; but the lords now refused to take part in its proceedings, and it was only by deputy that they consented to communicate with the Assembly. When they were urged to give effect to the Book of Discipline, of which many of them had previously approved, they treated the appeal with contempt. On one matter, however, they were constrained to take action by the dangerous feeling of the main body of the Protestants. The Reformed clergy were still without regular provision and had hitherto lived "upon the benevolence of men." That such provision should at once be made was now the vehement demand of Knox and his brethren. But there were obstacles in the way which only the dread of a Protestant revolt determined "the rulers of the Court" to face. The majority of the old clergy were still in possession of their incomes; and a large amount of ecclesiastical property had passed into the hands of the lay lords, Protestant and Catholic. By a singular compromise the demands of the preachers were partially met. The Privy Council imposed a tax of one-third



William Maitland of Lethington.

on all Church property; and, as the queen was likewise in straits for money, this third was to be divided between her and the ministers. "I see," was Knox's pithy comment, "I see two parts freely given to the Devil, and the third must be divided betwixt God and the Devil[1]."

The year 1562 brought no advantage to the foreign and domestic policy of Mary and her advisers. As a means of establishing better relations between the two queens, it was proposed that they should hold an interview for the friendly discussion of their differences. In January Mary wrote to Elizabeth eagerly pressing for such a meeting; and in May the Privy Council gave its sanction to her desire. Within a week Maitland was despatched to England with the conditions on which Mary would agree to an interview. As part of his instructions it is significant that he was to demand such a safe-conduct for his mistress as would secure her against all contingencies during her sojourn in England. Elizabeth appeared to be as eager as Mary for the meeting. She granted the safe-conduct, and it was arranged that the two queens should meet at some date during the autumn. It may be doubted if Elizabeth really desired the interview. The northern counties of England were largely Catholic, and the presence of Mary in the heart of the country might be dangerous. Moreover, from what Elizabeth must have heard of the gifts and graces of Mary, she must have shrunk, vain as she was of her own personal appearance, from challenging the comparison of their respective attractions as women as well as queens. However this may be, to Mary's intense chagrin Elizabeth found a pretext for postponing their meeting. The first religious war had broken out in France; and, as the champion of Protestantism, Elizabeth had a stake in the fortunes of the Huguenots. So long as this crisis in France lasted there could be no meeting, she announced, between herself and the Scottish queen. Mary was thus as far off as ever from the attainment of her desire to be acknowledged as the heir of England; and the day was sure to come when she would grow weary of deferring to her Protestant counsellors[2].

1562

Of all the Scottish nobles, the Earl of Arran was the only one who had stood by Knox since the return of Mary. We have seen how he had protested against the celebration of Mass in Holyrood Chapel, and he had made himself talked of in

1562

[1] Knox, II. 299—310, VI. 132; *Privy Council Register*, I. 201, 202.
[2] *P. C. R.*, I. 206, XIV. 181; Haynes, *State Papers*, 391, 392.

other ways. On a Sunday night towards the close of 1561 a mysterious tumult had arisen in Edinburgh; and the rumour went that Arran had entered the town with a body of men to carry off the queen. His subsequent doings proved at least that he was capable of so wild an action. He had been of late at feud with the Earl of Bothwell, who for some motive unknown sought the good offices of Knox to heal their quarrel. A reconciliation was apparently effected; but a few days later Arran appeared before Knox with a strange story of a plot by Bothwell to have the queen carried off to Dunbarton Castle and to cut off Maitland, the Lord James, and others of her advisers. As time was to show, Bothwell was a person ready for desperate enterprises; but Knox apparently regarded the tale as an hallucination—an opinion eventually confirmed by Arran's actually going mad and remaining so for the rest of his life[1].

1562 But the chief event of the year 1562 was the ruin of the powerful Earl of Huntly—of whom Knox says that "under a prince there was not such a one these three hundred years in this Realm produced." Of the incidents connected with Huntly's fall we have a sufficiently full account; but its causes are involved in some obscurity. On the 11th of August Mary set out from Edinburgh on a long-contemplated progress to the northern counties—her sole aim apparently being to make acquaintance with those parts of her kingdom. Before the end of the month she was at Old Aberdeen, attended by the majority of her nobles—Châtelherault again being the most conspicuous absentee. Within a few days she found herself involved in an affair which turned a royal progress into a civil war. The second son of the Earl of Huntly, Sir John Gordon, laird of Findlater, had broken ward in Edinburgh; and the news reached Mary that he had disobeyed her command to surrender himself at Stirling. When Huntly invited her, therefore, to visit him at his castle of Strathbogie on her way to Inverness, she refused and passed on her way. At Inverness she received a further slight: in the name of Lord Gordon the garrison denied her admission into the castle. As the country, however, rose to support the queen, the castle was surrendered the following day, when its captain was hanged and certain of the garrison sent to prison for life.

Though her journey had thus taken so different a turn from what she had anticipated, Mary was far from repenting her coming.

[1] Knox, II. 322 *et seq.*

The weather was "extreame fowle and colde," the roads she traversed were cumbersome, and there was actual danger of some sudden attack from the formidable clan whom she had offended. Yet, says Randolph, who accompanied her, "I never saw her merrier, never dismayed," and he heard her exclaim that she longed she were a man "to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a pack or knapschall [head-piece], a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." It was the intention of Sir John Gordon to intercept her as she crossed the Spey, but the formidable force by which she was attended deterred him from the attempt. But the Gordons had now gone so far that their only hope was to maintain a show of defiance. Sir John refused to give up his castles of Findlater and Auchindoune, and his father still disobeyed Mary's order summoning him to her presence. An attempt to seize him in his castle of Strathbogie was cleverly eluded, and on October 17th he was outlawed. Now rendered desperate, Huntly took the bold decision of trying his strength against the force that Mary had at her disposal, and with a body of 700 or 800 men he marched on Aberdeen. Mary and her lords, however, had not been idle and had been reinforced by contingents from Lothian and Fife under the command of the Master of Lindsay and the lairds of Ormiston and Grange. On the news of Huntly's approach, the Lord James Stewart (Earl of Moray, as he had now become), the Earls of Athole and Morton marched to meet him with 2000 men. They found him at Corrichie, some twenty miles to the west of Aberdeen, strongly posted on the brow of a hill. Huntly's force amounted to but a third of that of his enemies, but he had been led to believe that he had friends in their ranks, and the result of the first onset gave countenance to his belief. The vanguard of the royal army was broken, and the day was saved only by the determined attack of the detachment led by Moray. After a brief struggle Huntly's men were forced down the hill into a morass which lay at its base; many were wounded; 120 were slain; and among those taken were Huntly's two sons, Adam and John. From the traitor's death that awaited him Huntly was strangely delivered: on the way to Aberdeen he fell dead from his horse, stricken by some natural disease. A few days later, Sir John Gordon, the chief cause of the trouble, was executed in Aberdeen, his brother Adam being spared on account of his youth. Huntly was beyond the reach of punishment, but his body was subjected to the ghastly formalities of the feudal law. Seven months after

his death (May 28, 1563) the coffin containing his embalmed body was placed upright, "as if the Earle stoode upon his feet," at the bar of the Scottish Parliament, when sentence of treason was pronounced upon himself, and his posterity declared incapable of office or dignity within the realm[1].

In connection with the fall of Huntly the question naturally rises—Why should Mary have consented to the ruin of her greatest Catholic subject? The character and career of Huntly himself give a tolerably satisfactory answer to the question. He had been punished for treason by Mary's own mother, Mary of Lorraine; as public documents prove[2], he was in treasonable correspondence with England during the whole term of her regency; on the establishment of Protestantism he attended the sermons of Knox, though he was a somewhat indecorous listener; and his whole conduct on the occasion of Mary's progress was such as with her high notions of the royal prerogative she must have keenly resented. In a personage with such a record Mary could have little confidence, for in the event of renewed civil war it was more probable than not that Huntly would, as he had done in the past, give his sword to the stronger party; and it was the nature of Mary to prefer an open foe to an equivocal friend. With the fall of Huntly is associated the rise of the Lord James Stewart to the place of the most powerful subject in the kingdom. While Mary's other councillor, Maitland, had been attending to her interests abroad, her brother had done her effectual service at home. In addition to his victory at Corrichie, he had on two separate expeditions to the Borders reduced these districts to a tranquillity which they had not known for many a day. His services were not unrewarded: in February (1561) he had been made Earl of Mar, having been legitimated eleven years before; and he returned from the northern expedition with the lands and title of the Earldom of Moray[3].

1562 While Mary had been dealing with Huntly in the north, John Knox, the other potentate in the country, had been on a mission to the south and west. So uneasy did he find men there, he tells us, that he had to do his utmost to prevent them from open revolt. His mission had, at least, one definite result: the Protestant barons and gentlemen of Ayrshire, in view

[1] Bain, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1. 649 *et seq.*; Knox, II. 252 *et seq.*

[2] See Index to Bain's *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots.*

[3] *Reg. of Privy Seal*, XXXI. 2; Bain, p. 655.

of the late compromise of their leaders, took a bond of mutual defence and for the furtherance of the Reformed religion. By November Knox was again in Edinburgh and in less hopeful mood than ever. Not only was the prospect dark in Scotland, but gloomy news had come regarding the brethren in France. In the late religious struggle in that country the Guises had triumphed; and for the moment the strength of the Huguenots was broken. To exasperate Knox still further, there was unusual festivity in Holyrood, which he associated with the queen's jubilation at the success of her uncles. As usual he gave vent to his feelings from the pulpit, and spoke with such freedom that Mary summoned him to a second interview. She taxed him with speaking irreverently of his sovereign and injuring her in the opinion of her subjects; but the preacher was as intractable as ever. If her conduct were such as was condemned by Scripture, it was his simple duty, he maintained, to denounce it in the ears of herself and her subjects[1].

During the year 1563 there were further developments in the home and foreign policy of Mary and her advisers, but it saw no such stirring event as the revolt and suppression of Huntly[2]. In February one of those incidents befell Mary which render her a figure of special interest to the creative artist. Among the many adorers of the youthful and beautiful sovereign was Châtelar, more lovesick than all the rest. According to Knox and the English agent Randolph—neither a friendly witness—Mary gave him proofs of her favour which were neither prudent nor becoming. However this may be, the conduct of her admirer passed all bounds of decency. On the night of the 12th of February he concealed himself in her bedroom in Holyrood Palace, and two days later again intruded himself upon her at Burntisland. The following week he was executed at St Andrews, in Brantôme's happy phrase "*par son outrecuidance et non pour crime.*" According to Randolph and Knox, he made an edifying end: according to Brantôme, his last companion was a volume of Ronsard, and his latest words an adieu "to the most beautiful and the most cruel princess in the world[3]."

1563

At Easter certain proceedings again brought Knox and Mary into collision. In various parts of the country mass was openly

[1] Knox, II. 347 *et seq.*

[2] Knox notes of this year that it was one of "universal dearth in Scotland." II. 369.

[3] Brantôme, *Dames illustres françaises et étrangères.—Discours Troisième*; Knox, II. 367 *et seq.*; Bain, p. 684.

said; and in the west, where the Protestants were most numerous and most zealous, decisive action was taken to prevent what was held to be a breach of the law. Certain priests were placed under ward, and others were told that the law would take its course in spite of council and queen. Mary was then at Lochleven, and hither she summoned Knox as the soul of all the opposition. For two hours before supper she pleaded with him to use his influence in favour of the threatened priests. But Knox was immovable; the mass had been forbidden by the law; and, if rulers would not punish the wicked, it was the duty of their godly subjects to see the law carried into effect. The next morning the conversation was renewed, but on this occasion Mary took a different line. She professed to be convinced by Knox's arguments, and promised to take action against such as broke the law by saying mass[1].

Mary kept her promise, but Knox was to find that he had been fairly out-generalled. Though Mary had been nearly two years in the country, the Estates had not yet met. There were good reasons of State for the delay. When the Queen of England demanded of Mary that she should sign the Treaty of Edinburgh, her reply had been that she could not do so without the consent of her Parliament. To delay its meeting, therefore, postponed an awkward dilemma. But there was another reason which rendered it impolitic alike for Mary and her Protestant advisers to face a meeting of the Estates: should the smaller barons appear in such numbers as at the revolutionary convention of August, 1560, the policy of compromise might find short shrift and another revolution be the result. It was now decided, however, that the Estates should meet; but, by a clever stroke of policy, all risks were averted. Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and forty-seven other churchmen were tried before the Court of Justiciary, and found guilty of contravening the law against the mass—the majority of them being committed to ward. By this appearance of zeal Mary "obtained of the Protestants whatever she desired"; and, when the Estates met on the 26th of May, Knox and the other preachers found the prospect of a religious settlement as far off as ever. The Book of Discipline, they were told, might one day be the law of the land; but, as things now stood, that time had not yet come. In the depth of his mortification Knox openly quarrelled with Moray, the one man to whom he had looked as

[1] Knox, II. 370 *et seq.*

the saviour of true religion; and so bitter was their estrangement "that familiarly after that time they spake not together for a year and a half[1]."

In her foreign relations Mary had not been so fortunate. By the assassination (Feb. 24) of her uncle, the great Duke of Guise, she lost her most powerful friend in France. 1563 Elizabeth, also, still refused to acknowledge her as her immediate successor. To bring Elizabeth to terms there was one mode of pressure which Mary and her councillors now diligently applied. By her marriage to a great Catholic potentate England would be seriously threatened; and this was the weapon that was now held over Elizabeth's head. There were many possible suitors, but the claims of only two were really considered. The one was Charles, Archduke of Austria, whose suit had the support of Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine. But the Archduke was neither rich enough nor powerful enough to serve Mary's purpose, and she set her heart on a far more exalted personage—Don Carlos, the heir of Spain. Convinced Protestants though they were, both Moray and Maitland gave their support to this scheme—assuredly not from a desire that it should ever take effect, but from the hope that the fear of such a contingency would force the hand of Elizabeth[2]. Elizabeth took alarm, but she was not sufficiently frightened to make the desired concession; and she contented herself with sending Randolph to Scotland in the month of September with the significant message that Mary's union with any of the Emperor's kin would be taken as a breach of friendship with England. Two months later the danger had passed, for in November Philip II definitively announced that the condition of Don Carlos was such that his marriage was impossible[3].

The year closed with another trial of strength between Knox and the queen. During the summer Mary had made a progress in the west, and had carried the mass into that stronghold of Protestantism. By the arrangement which had been made with her regarding her religion, it was only in her own presence that mass was to be celebrated; but during her absence the rite was continued in her private chapel in Holyrood. Two ardent Protestants, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, having interrupted one of these services by a protest against its illegality, were promptly

[1] Knox, II. 376 *et seq.*

[2] Cf. Kirkcaldy of Grange's Letter to Randolph.—Knox, VI. 539, 540.

[3] *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VI. 509, 510; Philippson, II. 229.

summoned to answer a charge of invading the queen's palace. It was now that Knox took a step which at length seemed to put him in Mary's power: he wrote a circular letter to the Protestants urging them to appear at the trial of their two champions. On a charge of treason for summoning the queen's lieges he was brought before the Privy Council—Mary herself being present. But his judges were in an awkward predicament: during the late revolt the majority had themselves freely summoned the lieges, and in condemning Knox they might register a dangerous precedent against themselves. To the mortification of Mary he was dismissed without even a rebuke, and four days later he received the cordial approval of the General Assembly for his offending circular[1].

1564 During the year 1564 the question of Mary's marriage still absorbed herself and her Council. Elizabeth having objected to a union with any member of the House of Hapsburg, she was asked to say specifically whom she would consider a fitting consort. After long hesitation she suggested her own favourite, Lord Dudley, whom she subsequently created Earl of Leicester, to make him a more suitable mate for a queen. From Don Carlos, the heir of Spain, to Dudley, a mere court minion, was a considerable descent; yet Mary agreed to the alliance on one condition—that with Dudley should go the recognition of her right as Elizabeth's successor. As Dudley professed to be a staunch Protestant, he was acceptable not only to Moray and Maitland, but even to Knox, who rejoiced at the prospect of a king of his own religion. It is probable, however, that Elizabeth was never really in earnest in making her proposal, and that all she had in her mind was to avert as long as she could any alliance of the Queen of Scots which would be dangerous to herself. When in November Maitland and Moray met Randolph and Bedford at Berwick to arrange the terms of union, the condition on which alone Mary would agree to the alliance was decisively rejected by Elizabeth's representatives[2]. It was becoming clear that the Queen of Scots must take her matrimonial affairs into her own hand.

1564 This was made still more evident from the way things were going at home. The policy of compromise adopted by the Protestant leaders was fast becoming more and more distasteful to the great majority of their party. It had all along been held out by Moray and Lethington that the queen

[1] Knox, II. 391 *et seq.* [2] *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VII. 248 *et seq.*

Mary and Darnley.

must marry soon, that she would marry a Protestant[1], that Elizabeth must in the end recognise her as her successor, and that the two countries would thus be eventually united under one sovereign and bound together by a common religion. Three years had now gone, however, and these desirable ends were as far off as ever; meanwhile no satisfactory settlement had been made for the Reformed Church, and the mass was gaining ground every day. Each meeting of the General Assembly, we have seen, had revealed the deep breach in the Protestant ranks; and the Assembly which met in June, 1564, proved that the division must before long result in some resolute action on the part of Knox and the Protestant majority whom he represented. On the first day of its meeting, the "Courtiers," as they were called, remained at home, their object being to effect a split among the preachers themselves. An arrangement was made, however, by which eleven of the ministers, Knox being one of them, should hold a conference with the Protestant lords. The main matter discussed was a curious revelation of "the spirit of the age." From the beginning Knox had entertained but faint hopes of Mary's changing her religion. Now apparently he had abandoned all hope, and in his public prayers for her spiritual welfare he implied a grave doubt of her eventual salvation. To one of his expressions—"Illuminat hir hairt, gif thy gud plesour be"—Maitland and his allies objected as an unbecoming petition for a subject to make regarding his prince. The question was a strange one to be the subject of serious debate between a minister of State and a minister of religion, yet it was the question on which the fate of the country hung. A Catholic sovereign could not rule a Protestant people: this was the conviction of Knox, and the experience of Christendom proved that he was right. Sooner or later the issue must again be tried as to which of the two religions was to prevail in the country[2].

II. Darnley and Riccio.

A false step on the part of Elizabeth precipitated the crisis which Knox had all along predicted. At the request of Mary, she permitted the exiled Earl of Lennox to return to Scotland. To Mary Lennox was a welcome ally on 1564

[1] During the opening years of Mary's actual reign there was some dread in papal quarters lest she might be "constrained to a heretical marriage."—Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Mary* (Scottish History Society), p. li.

[2] Knox, II. 422 *et seq.*

various grounds. He was of her own religion; by his connection with the royal house he would be a counterpoise to the Hamiltons, who by their Protestant leanings and their dynastic claims must always be dangerous subjects; and, finally, Lennox, powerful and in favour, might be a check on the other great nobles of Scotland. On the other hand, the coming of Lennox was equally dreaded by both sections of the Protestant party. As a Catholic he was hateful to the ministers, and to Moray and Lethington he was unwelcome as a probable obstacle to all their counsels. It was with a sure instinct of evils to come that they saw him arrive in the month of September; and their fears were not lessened when in December Mary restored him to all his honours and estates[1].

1565

But it was not Lennox, always feeble and now prematurely old, that was to be the evil fate dreaded alike by Moray and Knox. In February, 1565, he was followed to Scotland by his son, Lord Darnley, marked by destiny to be the most pitiful and tragic figure in the national history. Before the two cousins had met many days, it was apparent that a new situation had arisen. By a coincidence, which is another of the picturesque turns of her fortune, Mary fell madly in love with the man, who to all seeming was the most suitable husband she could have chosen in the interest of the cause with which she was identified. Hitherto events had followed the tedious progress of a tortuous diplomacy, but from this point onwards to the disastrous close at Langside she and her subjects were borne along by a swift succession of wild and tragic events which can scarcely be paralleled in history. In the beginning of April Moray left the Court where his counsels were no longer heeded; in May Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth of Mary's intention of marrying Darnley; at a convention of the nobles in the same month the marriage was formally debated and approved; and on July 29th Mary and Darnley were married in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood according to the rites of the Church of Rome[2].

Thus were fulfilled the endless prophesyings of Knox, and such was the issue of the cautious policy of Moray and Lethington. That policy had been conceived in the true interest of the country;

[1] Randolph to Cecil, Dec. 15, 1564; Stevenson, *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary*, p. 111.

[2] But without the dispensation which was canonically necessary in their case as being "in the second degree from a common stock."—Pollen, pp. xci—xcviii. This is but one proof among others that Mary deferred to the laws of the Church only when they did not clash with her own interests.

but its success had depended on two contingencies, on neither of which could confident calculations be made. Elizabeth had refused to acknowledge Mary as her successor; and Mary was as stiff in her own religious opinions as ever. At one time or other, as has been said, there must have come the final trial of strength between the two religions. The Protestants had triumphed over Mary of Lorraine, but it remained to be seen whether they could also triumph over her daughter, their lawful sovereign. Had Moray, on his sister's return, adopted the policy recommended by Knox, and insisted that she must choose between the Reformed religion and the loss of her Crown, the issue would have been joined at once. He would then have been in a far stronger position than he was now, for he would have had the whole force of Protestantism at his back. As things now stood, however, his position was desperate. There were only two quarters to which he could look for support—to the zealous Protestants led by Knox, and to the English queen. But by his policy during the last four years he had alienated these zealous Protestants, who were no longer the coherent body that had accomplished the revolution of 1560. Elizabeth, who was furious at the Darnley marriage and saw in it a threat and a defiance against herself, would gladly have come to Moray's assistance; but to lend open assistance to a rebel was to point a weapon against herself, and beyond expostulation and warning to Mary she did nothing to restore the late situation in Scotland[1].

The Darnley marriage was the one great stroke of policy achieved by Mary. As the grandson of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, Darnley stood next to Mary herself in the English succession; and by the union of their claims they gained a double hold on that Catholic section of Elizabeth's subjects which was a permanent cause of dread to herself and her advisers. The immediate result of the marriage was all that Mary could have desired. She triumphed in Scotland; she frightened Elizabeth; and she became once more an important personage in the eyes of continental potentates. It was in a crisis such as the present that Mary displayed her most brilliant qualities. Her public career conclusively shows that she possessed little of the wisdom or self-restraint indispensable to a successful ruler or diplomatist; but in the swirl of events in which she was now involved she extorted the admiration of her enemies

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[1] *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VII. 409—413.

by her high spirit, her fearlessness, and decision. Her immediate task was to crush the Protestant lords who had opposed her marriage and refused to accept the terms which she had offered to them; and she performed it with a zest which proved how keenly she resented the restraint of the last four years.

Passing rapidly from one town of her kingdom to another, she effectually prevented the insurgents from making head against her. She summoned her subjects to meet her in warlike guise in the last week of August, and, to allay the fears of the Protestants, she issued a series of proclamations giving assurance that she intended no change in the existing religious settlement. On the 6th of August the sentence of outlawry, so dreaded by the Scottish nobles, was pronounced on Moray, in spite of Elizabeth's intercession in his favour. Towards the end of that month the insurgent lords took a decided step. In the wars with Mary of Lorraine, the Congregation had often found a welcome reception in the capital; and thither from Ayr, at the head of 1200 horse, now rode Châtelherault, Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, and Boyd—the same leaders in the same cause which had triumphed in Edinburgh in the August of 1560. But times were now changed, and so coldly were they received that after a stay of two days they deemed it prudent to retire to Dumfries, where they were conveniently near the Border. Mary was immediately on their track, and but for stress of weather might have enjoyed the hazard of battle for which she was so eager. At Dumfries the insurgents found themselves powerless; and meanwhile Mary ranged the country, stamping out rebellion and encouraging her loyal subjects. At length, by the 8th of October, she found herself strong enough to deal with the lords at Dumfries; but two days before her intended march they were in Carlisle, and Mary for the first time was mistress in her own kingdom. Thus ended the Roundabout or Chaseabout Raid, as it was called, the most triumphant passage in her career, when good fortune and her own special gifts brought a gleam of success to a life which thenceforward was to know little but sorrow and disaster[1].

1565

The temporary triumph of Mary was coincident with a great crisis in Christendom which gave it a significance beyond the limits of Scotland. It was in the year 1565 that the great movement, known as the Counter-Reformation,

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 355 *et seq.*; *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VII. 437 *et seq.*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*; Knox, II. 500 *et seq.*

Leuchars Church. In early Norman style with later additions.

took that definite shape in the minds of the Catholic princes which was to issue in the Massacre of St Bartholomew and the Spanish Armada. To restore the unity of Christendom by the extinction of every form of heresy—such in the year 1565 had become the specific object of the Pope and the two Catholic rulers, Philip II of Spain and Charles IX of France. It was, therefore, the good fortune and the distinction of Mary that by throwing off her Protestant advisers she had led the way in the great crusade. With Scotland reunited to Rome, England, the stronghold of heresy, would again be open to attack; and, if Mary could but hold her own, and Catholic Europe could but act in concert, the result could hardly be doubtful. With money and fair words, therefore, Pope Pius IV and King Philip II encouraged Mary in her good work[1].

The work to which Mary had put her hand, however, demanded qualities which were alien to her whole nature. Her public difficulties would have taxed the most vigorous and capable of rulers, but the difficulties of the queen were in Mary's case fatally complicated by the passions of the woman. Her nobility were divided by their interests and their religion; and, though now deprived of their most influential leaders, the Protestant party composed the most intelligent and the most energetic section of her subjects. At the half-yearly meeting of the General Assembly, which was held in December, 1565, a public fast was boldly proclaimed for the shame and backsliding of the nation. But it was the very event which had led to Mary's late triumph that was to be the prime cause of the ruin and tragedy of her life. She had hardly married Darnley before it became apparent that they were incapable of joint action in a common cause. Darnley proved to be foolish and vicious; and Mary was the last woman to bear patiently with an inconsiderate husband. In the first ardours of their attachment Mary had promised him the matrimonial crown, but when she became aware of his real character she steadily avoided the fulfilment of her promise. But, with whatever degree of reason, it was the passion of jealousy on the part of Darnley that completed the estrangement between them. Before Mary made Darnley's acquaintance, she had already given a large place in her counsels to the second of the three men between whom her life was to be wrecked. This was David Riccio, an Italian, who had first attracted her notice by his skill

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[1] Philippson, III. 85—87.

as a musician. Riccio had eagerly pressed the Darnley marriage; and for a time the two were excellent friends bound by common interests. But as Mary became alienated from her husband, Riccio rose higher and higher in her favour. He virtually filled the place of foreign secretary; in dress and equipage he outshone the nobles themselves; and so great became his ascendency that even the exiled Moray is said to have sent him a ring to conciliate his favour[1]. As, in addition to these public honours, Riccio filled a special place in Mary's domestic life, it will be seen that Darnley was not without some show of reason for his jealousy of the Italian adventurer. By the February of 1566 his various passions had carried him so far that he was ready for any scheme to rid himself of the man who thus stood in his way[2].

1566 As it happened, there were other persons in the country to whom the removal of Riccio was a matter of the first importance. So extraordinary had the position of Riccio now become that he was believed to be responsible for the whole policy of Mary which had resulted in the overthrow of the exiled Protestant lords. But should that policy continue to prosper, its inevitable development must be the restoration of the old religion in Scotland, which alike on the grounds of her faith and her ambition must be the natural desire of Mary herself. Moreover, there was an immediate and special reason for putting out of the way the person on whom these vast issues appeared to depend. At the meeting of the Estates in March formal decree of forfeiture was to be passed on the exiled lords in England. In an age when assassination was calmly discussed in the cabinets of kings, the removal of a base-born foreigner, who held their lives and their fortunes in his hands, did not greatly exercise the consciences of the nobles of Scotland. Before the meeting of the Estates, therefore, effectual measures were taken to avert the event that was to be disastrous to certain of their number. Towards the close of February, Darnley and Lennox, on the one hand, and the Protestant leaders, including the Earls of Moray, Morton, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, and the lords Boyd, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Ochiltree, on the other, became parties to a plot for the removal of Riccio. If the plot should prove successful, Darnley was to receive the matrimonial crown, and, failing heirs to Mary, to be recognised

[1] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 147.

[2] Calderwood, II. 285; Spottiswoode, II. 27; Melville, *Memoirs*, pp. 131 *et seq.*; Knox, II. 596, 7; *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VII. 353 *et seq.*

as her successor; while the exiled lords were to be restored to their titles and estates, and religion was to be left as it had been settled on the return of Mary. The lords would have wished to put their victim through some form of trial, but to Darnley this appeared to be a tedious and unnecessary formality, and it was resolved that the deed should be done in summary fashion. On the night of Saturday, March 9, Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, on an express message from Darnley, beset the Palace of Holyrood with a band of their accomplices. The details of the act that followed are so variously related that a trustworthy account of them is unattainable. Riccio was found at supper with the queen, both alike unconscious of the terrible interruption that was awaiting. A few brief moments of cries for mercy from the doomed wretch himself, and of passionate words between the queen, her husband, and the other conspirators, and the bloody deed was done—in the queen's chamber according to one account, in its immediate vicinity according to others[1].

The crime had hardly been committed before it was discovered to have been a blunder. It had been confidently anticipated that if Riccio were out of the way and Darnley were detached from the queen, things would arrange themselves as they had been settled on her return from France. But the promptness and decision of Mary confounded all the plans of the confederates. On the evening of Sunday, the day after the murder, Moray with the other exiled lords rode into Edinburgh, where he was pleasantly received both by Mary and her husband. On the morning of Tuesday it was discovered that the king and queen had fled together and were safe in the castle of Dunbar. This was sufficiently alarming for the confederates, since it meant that Darnley had broken his pledges and was making common cause with the queen. The news that came from Dunbar did not reassure them: nobles such as Huntly, Athole, and Bothwell had rallied to her side, and she must soon be at the head of a force with which they would be unable to cope. Edinburgh was no longer a safe place for them, and on the 17th of March they quitted it in a body for Linlithgow. On the following day Mary re-entered the capital, attended by the lords who had been faithful to her[2]. 1566

[1] *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VIII. 23; *Maitland Miscellany*, III. 110; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 85. The various authorities for the murder of Riccio will be found in Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 387.

[2] Ruthven's *Relation*; Keith; *Diurnal of Occurrents*.

Had it been possible for Mary to act in concert with Darnley she might now have defied her rebel subjects and repeated her triumph in the Roundabout Raid. But in view of his late conduct such common action had been made impossible. In these circumstances she had but one course open to her—to restore to favour such of the confederates as had no direct part in the murder of Riccio; and this was the course which she actually followed. Morton, Ruthven, and their fellow-conspirators who had done the deed were outlawed; and by the end of April, Moray, Glencairn, and Argyle were sitting in the Privy Council by the side of Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole[1].

To the summer of 1566 belongs an event fraught with far greater consequences to Britain and the world than the succession of horrors, the tale of which is not yet complete. On June 19 Mary gave birth to a son, who as James VI of Scotland and James I of England was to unite the destinies of the two countries. Mary's subjects fully realised what the birth of the prince meant for the future of their country. Their joy was exuberant; five hundred bonfires blazed in Edinburgh alone, and a national thanksgiving was held in the Church of St Giles. To Elizabeth the event brought other feelings; and in the bitterness of her heart she exclaimed that she was a barren stock and the Queen of Scots was the mother of a fair son[2].

III. Darnley and Bothwell.

The dominant facts of the latter half of the year 1566 were the
1566 continued breach between Mary and her husband, and the rise into power and favour of the man who was destined to be the evil genius of her life. From his character and present position, Darnley was equally useless to Mary and the Protestant leaders, and to both he had given cause for the bitterest hatred and contempt. Mary could not forgive him for the part he had taken in the murder of Riccio, and the Protestant lords could not forget that he had broken his pledges and betrayed their cause. As the months wore on his position became so intolerable in his own country that he made up his mind to leave it—a step which Mary forbade, unhappily, as events were to prove, for her own good name. Nor was her own situation much more pleasant than

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 454, 5.
[2] Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*, pp. 158, 159.

Chamber's Journal. October 1923. (4½ pages)

THE MYSTERY OF THE COFFIN IN THE WALL.

By the Dowager Lady Forbes.

I.

Of all the dramatic events which took place during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, that connected with the miniature coffin hidden in the wall of Edinburgh Castle, although the least well known, was more important in its effect than any other episode in Scottish history of the period, from a historical point of view, and was the curtain-raiser to the long-drawn-out tragedy of the two succeeding centuries, to culminate in the last act with the downfall and flight of Prince Charlie, when he took his farewell gaze at the shores of his native land.

There it still remains, a silent and lasting witness of one of the most carefully planned and closely guarded intrigues, but one in which, so far as research shows, the Queen was in no way implicated.

To understand the situation it must be remembered that if there was no direct heir to the throne, the nobles nearest in succession were the Duke of Châtellerault, his epileptic son Arran, and the Earl of Glencairn.

The Regent Moray, who held the reins until Mary's return from France, was eager to retain them; there were also other crafty nobles around her out for what they could get. If the Queen had no heir Moray's chances were small. Arran was refused as a suitor; another had to be found. Matters gradually reached a climax between Mary and Queen Elizabeth on the subject, and that astute intriguer saw possibilities ahead. Darnley unwittingly provided the means.

II.

King James, it appears, was never quite satisfied as to his legitimacy, and rewarded those who reassured him. His fear that Rizzio had betrayed his mother's honour was doubtless hinted by his tutor, George Buchanan, who was vindictive against Mary and against one of her ladies of the bedchamber, the wife of Arthur Forbes of Reres (known in history, according to the fashion of the day, as Lady Reres), who, quick of wit and sharp of tongue, had apparently parried his curiosity when inconvenient. How improbable that there were any grounds for this suggestion is shown by Paul de Foix in his letters to Catherine de Medici, when informing her of the private marriage of Mary and Darnley in David Rizzio's apartment at Stirling, which he had fitted up as a chapel for that purpose. Had Rizzio been the Queen's lover, it is improbable he would have facilitated matters for Darnley. Besides, Rizzio was a gray-bearded man of fifty, unattractive in appearance and deformed; though an able secretary and man of affairs, he was too well versed in the intrigues of the Court to suit Darnley and his conspirators.

Mary, well trained in her early youth, was, in spite of her sojourn at the French Court, of a chaste disposition, and her religion was a very real part of her life. From the time of an attempted intrusion into her chamber by the infatuated Châtelard until her marriage with Darnley, to prevent any such recurrence, she made Mary Seton her bedfellow.

The letter written by Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth after the death of Francis shows the impression formed of her character and judgment by that experienced statesman. 'Since her husband's death she hath shewn (and so continueth) that she is of great wisdom for her years, and of equal modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling of herself and her matters; which increasing with her years cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of herself and her country. Already it appears that some such as made no account of her do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Assuredly she carries herself so honourably, advisedly, and discreetly that one cannot but fear her progress. As far as I can learn, she more esteemeth the continuance of her honour and to marry one that can uphold her to be great, than she passeth to please her fancy by taking one that is acccompanied with such small benefit or alliance as thereby her estimation and fame is not increased.'

III.

To unravel the secret we must have recourse to the oft-told tale of Rizzio's murder. Without entering into the reasons for what took place, we need only picture the scene and its effects upon the Queen, who was at supper with her household in her private apartments at Holyrood Palace when Ruthven and his accomplices broke roughly into the room.

Rizzio, divining their intentions, took refuge behind his mistress; the supper-table, laden with dishes, was violently upset, and struck Mary, then six months gone in pregnancy, as it fell, while Ruthven thrust with his dagger over her shoulder at his victim. She heard the cries and groans of the unfortunate Italian as he was dragged from the room and down the stairs—a dead man before he reached the bottom. She did not know if her own life was safe. Then, when the fiends were gone, she found herself a prisoner in her apartments, in terror of what might follow and in ignorance of what was going on outside, until her hot-headed, ambitious young husband, the author of much of

the mischief, made his way to her by the private stair which connected their rooms, and confessed to his intrigue with the lords which had ended in the undoing of them both. How Mary set her ready wits to work is described by Claude Nau, her secretary, in his *Memoirs*.

Mounted on a pillion behind Arthur Erskine, accompanied by Darnley and the few faithful lords with whom she managed to communicate, the Queen set off under cover of night for Dunbar. To make all safe, some soldiers were posted on the road. Darnley, thinking they were there to intercept them, took fright, put spurs to his horse, and flogging that upon which Mary rode, cried, 'Come on! By God's blood, they will murder both you and me if they can catch us!' Mary reminded him that in her condition such violent exercise was impossible; but never heeding, he cried again, 'Come on, in God's name! If this one dies, we can have others!' Her powers of endurance were exhausted; she told him to save himself without regard to her. The gentlemen in attendance, coming up, quickly closed round, and brought her in safety to the castle. This incident is sufficiently characteristic to show of what stuff Darnley was made.

A few days later the provost and citizens of Edinburgh, who were on her side, saw to her safe return to Edinburgh Castle. After a short stay, she returned to Holyrood until within a few weeks of her confinement, when, according to arrangement, she went back, for the sake of greater safety, to the castle. What some of the lords said of this plan is told by Chalmers in his *Mary Queen of Scots*: 'However well intended it might be by the Privy Council of Scotland to advise the Queen to return to the Castle for her accouchement—*yet was it averted by matchless artifice into a plot which had for its end the transfer of the Queen's sceptre to Moray's guilty hand.*' *

The gray-bearded statesman reasoned in this manner: 'Recollecting the assassination of Rizzio in the Queen's presence, and considering the Queen's period of pregnancy, the probability was that she would have been delivered of a monster or a still-born child pretty certainly; and knowing how subject child-birth is to accident, they inferred, with great appearance of reason, that the Queen would never leave her bed alive.'

IV.

But the Queen had her faithful ladies around her, fully alive to the consequences which hung upon the issue, and prepared with a plan to avert either calamity.

The ladies selected to accompany her to the castle were limited to the Countess of Atholl, Lady Reres, and Mary, the newly wedded wife of Ogilvy of Boyne, niece of Lady Reres and daughter of Robert Bethune of Creich, her brother, who was Master of the Household. The lords-in-waiting were the Earls of Moray, Mar, Atholl, and Argyll, all of whom were nearly connected, and, with the exception of Moray, equal in loyalty and devotion.

The Countess of Atholl was the Queen's first cousin, being a daughter of her aunt, Lady Fleming, and by intermarriage in the previous generation between the Atholls and the Forbeses was also connected with Margaret Bethune, Lady Reres, whose husband, Arthur Forbes of Reres, was a cadet of the House of Forbes. The Earl of Argyll's wife, Lady Jean Stuart, was the natural daughter of James V. by Elizabeth Bethune, elder sister of Lady Reres, therefore Lady Reres's niece and half or bastard sister to Queen Mary. Mary Boyne and her father completed the clique with their carefully laid and still more carefully guarded plan.

Apparently Lady Reres gave birth to a son very shortly before the Queen was confined. Here it is necessary to make a slight digression—the reason for which will soon be apparent—to refute a criticism made by Professor Hannay, on the impossibility of her bearing a child on account of her age (which he gives as about forty-five, her eldest son being twenty-two), as well as the certainty of her condition being known to her connections in Fife. But, secrecy being essential to the plot alluded to by Chalmers, and given the necessity for its fulfilment, any leakage would have been carefully guarded against. Others say Lady Reres was forty, and Buchanan describes her as being of unwieldy size, in his venomous remarks on her conduct and that of the Queen. Lady Reres's unwieldy size, caused by her condition, was a useful cover, and could well be attributed to her age, which was no bar to such an event, child-bearing being by no means unknown even at fifty. Then, again, by Buchanan's own showing, she took violent exercise on horseback when escaping at headlong speed with the Queen after the battle of Langside. This nullifies his former description.

Sir James Melville alludes to the unreliability of Buchanan's statements, which are also mentioned by Camden in his *History of Queen Elizabeth* (1675). Sir James regarded Buchanan's book, *The Detection*, in which his description of Lady Reres is given, as having 'been condemned of falsehood by the Estates of the Realm of Scotland,' and declared that 'upon his deathbed he (Buchanan) wished that he might live so long till, by recalling the truth, he might even with his blood wipe away those aspersions he had by his bad tongue cast upon her'—to wit, Queen Mary, whose intrigues by night Lady Reres was supposed to be aiding and abetting. In the introduction to the translation of *The Detection* by 'A Person of Honour of the Kingdom of Scotland,' the paternity of the prince is alluded to with this remark: 'if (as I have heard some Scots loudly aver) *the child*

* The italics are mine.

itself was not supposititious.' Arthur Forbes, it may be added, took deadly vengeance on the Earl of Moray's secretary, John Wood, for circulating calumnies on his wife and the Queen.

v.

To return to Edinburgh Castle, the information regarding the birth of the prince is supplied by Claude Nau: 'Le dix neuf Juin, jour de Mercredi, entre les dix et onze heures du matin, sa Majesté accoucha d'un fils, avec grand travail et douleurs, en présence de plusieurs dames lesquelles la voyans en danger et luy remonstran le hazard ou elle était et son enfant, elle les supplia de sauver l'enfant sans aucun respect d'elle. Le prince vint avec une fort grande coiffe fort deliée qui lui couvrait tout le visage.' Other than this not one word is said as to his condition, but the Queen was saved. The first description of the child comes from the pen of the English Ambassador, but not until some eight or ten days later.

Meanwhile, what of Lady Reres, upon whom the Countess of Atholl is credited with practising her occult powers? Of these full use was made, as shown in a contemporary conversation, reported by Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox, which took place five years later between Andrew Lundy, a cousin of Lady Reres, and Knox. This gives a clue to the plan which, in its simplicity and its confidence in the credulity and superstition of the people, was so successful.

'On Tuysday, the 3 of July 1571, Andro Lundie beand at dener with my maister, in a place of the lard of Abbotshalls, called Falsyde, openlie affirmet for treuth, that when the Quene was lying in ieasing of the King, the Ladie Athole, lying (lodging) thair lykwayis, baith within the Castell of Edinburgh, that he come thair for sum business, and called for the Ladie Reirres, whom he fond in her chalmer, lying bedfast, and he asking hir of hir disease, scho answrit that scho was never so trubled with no barne that ever scho bair, ffor the Ladie Athole had cassin all the pyne of her (the Queen's) child-birth upon hir.'

Yet, as has been related, so great was the travail, the Queen barely escaped with her life. But that such superstition existed and was very prevalent is illustrated in the reign of James VI. in the trial of one Eupheem M'Callyum, 'For consulting and seeking help at Amy Sampson for relief of your pain at the time of the birth of your two sons and receiving from her to that effect ane bored stane to be laid under the bowster put under your head, enchanted moulds (earth) and powder put in ane piece of paper to be usit and rowit in your hair, and at the time of your drowis (throes) your guidman's sark to be presently ta'en aff him and laid wimplit round your bed feet the whilk practisit, your sickness was casten aff you unnaturally upon ane dog, whilk ran away and was no more seen. And in the birth of your last son, the same practise was usit, and your natural kindly pain unnaturally casten aff you upon the wanton cat in the house; whilk likewise was never seen thereafter.'

vi.

To return to the royal patient, it would appear that the babe scarcely drew breath, but that eventuality was prepared for. To have told the Queen the truth in her exhausted condition might have been fatal. The midwife was doubtless in the secret. To dispose temporarily of the infant was a simple matter. Another child was ready at hand. Any inconvenient questions regarding Lady Reres's offspring could easily be parried.

The crucial point as to whether Lady Reres acted as wet-nurse at first, a conclusive proof of motherhood, has now to be considered.

The late Dr Joseph Robertson, Keeper of the Historical Records, Register House, in the Preface to his *Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots*, says: 'The wife of Arthur Forbes of Reres was a favourite of Queen Mary and wet-nurse to her son.' Wood, in his *East Neuk of Fife*, mentions, in his notice on the family of Betons of Creich, that 'Lady Reres acted wet-nurse to the Prince,' and records his obligation to W. Baird, Esq., of Elie for access to private papers in his possession. Chambers mentions the same fact in his *Book of Days* and other works. Further, in the official document of Treasury Accounts there is an entry on 29th July for supplying material and black velvet for a dress for 'the nutrix,' which marks the date of her entry on this duty. The costume worn by a nurse was always supplied on her taking over a child. The presumed prince was born on the 19th of June. If not Lady Reres, who (the Queen being unable) fulfilled the functions of mother in the interval?

The dislike of Darnley by the bedchamber clique is notorious; that they had good grounds for their feelings, apart from his dissipated habits and neglect of the Queen, is shown in the letters of Randolph to Leicester: 'I know there are practises in hand contrived between the Father and the Son (Lennox and Darnley) to come by the Crown against her will.' Secret articles had also previously been drawn between Darnley and the banished lords in return for his securing their pardon and recall, 'that they would procure for him the Crown Matrimonial of Scotland, and that in the event of the Queen's death he should be declared her rightful successor, and his Father the next heir after himself, and that the Lords should pursue, stay, and extirpate all who opposed this ressolution.' The best-laid plans gang aft agley.

That Mary was aware of these intrigues is apparent from the steps she took to frustrate them

in causing 'A Bond of Dismission of the Crown and Government' to be drawn up in favour of the infant prince, which was signed by the principal lords and gentlemen, Arthur Forbes of Reres being one.

VII.

We are indebted to Lord Herries for the continuation of the scene in the Queen's bedchamber. 'This which follows,' he writes, 'is worth observing. About 2 o'c in the afternoon the King came to visit the Queen and was desirous to see the child. "My Lord," says the Queen, "God has given you and me a son begotten by none but you." At which words the King blusht and kissed the child. Then she took the child in her arms, and discovering his face said, "My Lord, here I protest to God, and as I shall answer for him at the great day of Judgment, this is your own son, and no other man's son, and, as I am desirous that all here, both ladies and others, bear witness, for he is so much your own son that I fear it may be the worse for him hereafter."'

Darnley, being implicated in the murder of Rizzio, had set tongues wagging, and he was consequently forced to declare publicly that the child was his. One of Bedford's spies tells of Darnley's jealousy, and how he disliked 'that the Queen should use familiarity with man or woman, especially the ladies Argyll, Mar, and Moray, who keep most company with her.'

The next to visit the Queen after her accouchement was the English Ambassador Killiegrew, who arrived some eight or ten days after, bearing a message from Queen Elizabeth.

Writing to Cecil, he describes how 'at 3 o'clock this afternoon Murray sent a gentleman and took me from his logging to the Castle, where the Earl of Mar's Captain met us, and by both without pause I was brought to the Queen's bedsyde where her Highness received thankfully her Majesty's letters and commendation, desiring her to excuse her proceedings further, and as soon as she could get strength I should have access again. I took leave and was brought to the young Prince sucking of his nouryce, and afterwards saw him as good as naked. I mean his head, feet, and hands, all to my judgment well proportioned and lyke to prove a goodly prince.' Of the Queen he remarked 'her delicate condition and that she spoke with a hollow cough.'

The 'nouryce' at that period, as already noted, was none other than the redoubtable Lady Reres. Later she acted as *gouvernante*, taking the infant to Stirling, when Mary left the castle, and afterwards to Alloa, where the cradle and nursing-chair are still preserved.

The French Ambassador de Cros describes the infant, 'then three months old,' as 'so fat and fine for his age, that by the time of his christening his godfathers will feel the weight of bearing him in their arms.' The long delayed christening took place on the 17th December, when, as if to make assurance doubly sure for the future, the babe was *made* Prince of Scotland, in addition to his other titles.

VIII.

Before the Queen and her Court left Edinburgh Castle in July for Alloa, and the prince (?) in Lady Reres's charge for Stirling, a means had been found for the disposal of the body of the royal infant. This was first brought to light in 1830 by the discovery of a tiny coffin in the wall of the royal apartments, owing to a fire having broken out, necessitating repairs to the walls. The find was notified in an 'Account of the discovery in the wall of the Ancient Palace in the Castle of Edinburgh of the remains of a child wrapped in a shroud of silk and cloth of gold, and having the letter J embroidered thereon,' by Captain J. G. Alexander, Cor. Mem. S.A.S. 'Archæologia Scotica IV.', Appen. 2, p. 14, Edinburgh, 14th February 1831. Also, in the 'Synopsis of the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh, 1849,' p. 106, 19B, we read of 'Portions of the shroud in which the remains of an infant were wrapped, when discovered built up in the wall of the old Palace, Edinburgh Castle, 11th August 1831. Presented by Captain J. G. Alexander, 16th Lancers, to the Museum of the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland.' This relic has unfortunately been lost, possibly in the removal of the Society's quarters to Queen Street.

The description of the material used for the shroud is suggestive of some portion of a vestment with the letters I.H.S. The Queen having her oratory and the usual accessories for celebrating Mass, it would be, according to the opinion of a dignitary of the Church, the most likely thing, under the circumstances, to make use of.

In his pamphlet on the Earldom of Mar, Mr P. H. M'Kerlie says: 'If the new Royal residence in the Castle was created by James V., as believed, it must have been between 1524 and 1542; that King made no secret of his illegitimate offspring. The coffin was built into the centre of the ante-room wall, now called the Crown room, which leads into Queen Mary's room. I was a boy lad (*sic*) at the time and being drilled in the garrison was constantly there. I was present at the fire, and I also obtained some small fragments to add to a small museum. The wall was built up and my story remains unrevealed. From the coffin being built into the wall, concealment of the closest character was evidently the object, and being wainscotted, no trace was shown.'

Doubt having been thrown upon Mr M'Kerlie's information in a correspondence in the *Scotsman* during the last week of December 1888, there was drawn from him the reply that 'no one well

Queen Mary's House, Jedburgh.

that of her husband. Her domestic affections had been blighted; and such was the state of her kingdom that any policy she might choose to adopt was beset by its own special difficulties. She might have changed her religion like Henry IV of France and taken Knox and Moray as her counsellors; but so equally were the two religions still divided in the country, that for the time at least such a step would not have brought tranquillity. Not before another violent convulsion and not till England again decisively intervened in her affairs did Protestantism become definitively the national religion of Scotland. As in the case of her marriage with Darnley, passion and policy now drove Mary into the course which was to lead her directly to her ruin. The man to whom she now gave herself both as a woman and a queen was pre-eminent even among the Scottish barons for his daring and unscrupulous character.

James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, had hitherto played but a subordinate part in the history of his country. He had done service to Mary of Lorraine, he had been accused of a plot for carrying off Mary to Dunbarton Castle, he had been the declared enemy of Moray, and he had given such trouble that during the three years preceding the autumn of 1565 he had spent most of his time either in prison or exile. During her struggle with Moray, when Mary had need of all the support that she could procure, she recalled him from France and restored him to his honours and estates. By his extensive lands and his office of Warden of the Borders, Bothwell was one of the most powerful nobles in the country; and his reckless courage and boundless ambition made him specially formidable in a time of revolution. It was to this "glorious, rash, and hazardous young man[1]" that Mary now turned as a champion in her present straits.

A visit which Mary made to Jedburgh in October, 1566, definitively marks the beginning of the ill-omened alliance. While in that town she received news that Bothwell had been seriously wounded in the course of his duty as Warden of the Borders. To Hermitage Castle, where he lay, the distance was above thirty miles; but, whatever may have been her motive, she rode thither and back in a single day. In the light of subsequent events this extraordinary ride came to bear an evil construction; yet a freak of this kind was certainly not out of keeping with Mary's impulsive

[1] So he was described in 1560 by Throgmorton, who met him in France. "Glorious," of course, means "boastful."

and adventurous nature. Her visit was followed by an illness so serious that for ten days her life was in danger; and it was not till the beginning of November that she was able to proceed to Craigmillar Castle, then regarded as one of the healthiest spots in the country. Here her health so improved that on December 17th she was able to take part in the festivities connected with the baptism of her son in the Castle of Stirling. But in these festivities it was noted that Darnley, though present in the castle, took no share; while to Bothwell, though a Protestant, was entrusted the arrangement of a ceremony according to the rites of the Church of Rome[1].

On the 24th of December, a week after the baptism of her son, Mary took a remarkable step: she granted pardon to the Earl of Morton and above seventy others who had been more or less directly concerned in the death of Riccio. The return of Morton and his allies early in 1567 was an ominous circumstance for Darnley, for it was to his playing false that their late exile had been due. At the close of the baptismal festivities Darnley had retired to Glasgow—the object of scorn and detestation equally to Mary and all her advisers. In Glasgow he was seriously ill; and, in spite of their long and bitter estrangement, Mary visited him in the later stage of his sickness and prevailed on him to accompany her to Edinburgh. In view of the tragedy that was so near at hand, this action of Mary has naturally raised a dark suspicion regarding its motive. It may well have been that the illness of her husband may have revived something of her early feeling towards him; but, taken with the chain of events in which it forms a natural link, this action of Mary does not easily lend itself to such a charitable construction. In Edinburgh Darnley was lodged in the Kirk of Field, in a house which stood immediately beside the city wall and close by the site of the present university[2]. During the few days he had still to live, the breach between him and Mary appeared to be perfectly healed, and she was assiduous in her attendance on his sick-bed. On the evening of Sunday, February 9th, she had spent several hours by

1567

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 480, 481; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 101; Keith, III. 286; *Ibid.* II. 469—471; *History of James the Sext*, p. 5. Bothwell remained outside the chapel while the ceremony of baptism was being performed.—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 104.

[2] Mr A. Lang in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart* (pp. 123 etc.) has discussed at length the difficult question of the position of the Kirk of Field with reference to the Town Wall. Cf. Dr Hay Fleming's review of Mr Lang's work in the *Bookman* for November, 1901.

Craigmillar Castle.

his side, when she suddenly remembered that she had to be present at a masque in Holyrood Palace. About two o'clock next morning the town was alarmed by a loud explosion; and men learned that the house in which the king was lodged had been blown up, and that his dead body had been found in the adjoining garden[1].

The conspirators had chosen their means in the fatuous hope that the explosion would be regarded as the result of accident; but the relations of the various parties were too well known to permit a moment's illusion on the part of the public. With one voice Bothwell was designated as the murderer of the king; and, with equal spontaneity in Scotland, in England, and in France, the conviction arose that Mary was his accomplice. In the case of Darnley's murder as in the case of Riccio's, forces were let loose on which the conspirators had not reckoned. Public opinion cried aloud that Bothwell should be brought to justice; and at the pressing instance of Lennox, father of the murdered king, he was actually brought to trial on the 12th of April. But too many great personages had been implicated in the crime—Morton and Maitland among the rest—to make it possible that the proceedings should be other than the merest farce. Bothwell was unanimously acquitted, and he proceeded in his desperate career. To gain support to his schemes, he had recourse to an expedient in keeping with the rest of his actions. He invited the leading nobles, Catholic and Protestant, to a supper[2], and, having surrounded the house with 200 hagbutters, induced or constrained them to sign a document declaring their belief in his innocence and their willingness to further his marriage with Mary should she agree to accept him as her husband[3]. On the 24th of April he intercepted Mary on her way from Stirling, and they proceeded in company to his castle of Dunbar—whether with or against her will, her subjects, at least, had no hesitation in concluding. During their stay at Dunbar, Bothwell raised proceedings for a divorce from his wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntly; and by the day (May 7th) after their return to Edinburgh the divorce was obtained. All obstacles being thus removed, Mary was married to Bothwell on the 15th of

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 105, 106; Anderson's *Collections*, IV. Part II. p. 166 (Nelson's Deposition).

[2] Known as "Ainslie's Supper" from the tavern where the party met.

[3] It is worth noting that Bothwell's father asserted that Mary's mother, Mary of Lorraine, had twice promised to marry him.—See his letter in *Nat. MSS. of Scotland*, Part III, No. XXIV.

May—a little more than three months from the morning of the Kirk of Field[1].

Bothwell had thus attained the end for which he had so desperately gambled, but he was now to learn that there were moral forces in the world which he had left out of his reckoning. The religious revolution that had taken place in Scotland had not left men's minds as it had found them; and there now existed a force of intelligent opinion in the country such as was unknown in previous periods of the national history. In the public indignation aroused by the late events, which had reached their climax in the Bothwell marriage, a group of the leading nobles found the momentum requisite to stay the headlong career of the infatuated pair. From Borthwick Castle, where they were constrained to seek refuge, they were driven to the safer stronghold of Dunbar during the second week of June. But neither Mary nor Bothwell was the person to yield without a struggle, and having collected a considerable force they marched towards the capital. With an army of nearly equal strength the confederates met them (June 15) at Carbery Hill, close by the field of Pinkie. Mary was eager for fight; but, while the armies were facing each other, her ranks were thinned by desertion, and there was evident wavering among those who still stood by her. In these circumstances she had no choice but to place herself in the hands of the insurgent lords—Bothwell being permitted to retire from the field. As she rode into Edinburgh that evening, she was received with insulting cries from the populace which must have painfully reminded her how her actions of the last few months had been interpreted by all ranks of her people. It was but one month since she had married Bothwell in the old chapel of Holyrood[2].

1567

If a stable government was to be set up in the country, there was but one course open to the lords who had overthrown Mary. The experience of the last six years had proved that one or the other religion must be definitively accepted before tranquillity was

[1] *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VIII. 178 *et seq.*; Stevenson's *Selections*, pp. 173—6; Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 174; Calderwood, II. 351—5; Robertson, *History of Scotland*, Appendix, No. XX. Pope Pius V was so indignant at the Bothwell marriage that he refused to hold further communications with Mary till she should mend her ways.—Pollen, p. cxxviii.

Lady Bothwell also procured a divorce from her husband on the ground of his adultery with one of her servants.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 113 *et seq.*; *For. Cal. Eliz.*, VIII. 254—6.

possible. After the Roundabout Raid it seemed as if the old religion might yet be restored; but through impolicy or ill-fortune its opportunity, as events were to prove, had now gone for ever. To make Protestantism the national religion in reality as well as in name, therefore, became henceforward the definite object of the responsible Protestant leaders; and with decided steps they proceeded to carry out their aim. On June 17th Mary was lodged in Lochleven Castle, and on July 24th she was induced or constrained to sign three documents by which she conveyed the Crown to her son, appointed Moray to act as Regent, and nominated Châtelherault, Lennox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar to carry on the government in his absence. Five days later the prince was crowned at Stirling—John Knox preaching the coronation sermon[1].

Moray, who had been in France since April, arrived in Edinburgh on the 11th of August, and was proclaimed regent on the 22nd. From the beginning his government was beset with grave difficulties. Several of the Protestant nobles—Argyle amongst them—had disapproved of the late proceedings against Mary; the whole Hamilton faction, indignant that the Regency had not been assigned to the head of their House, stood sullenly aloof; and the Queen of England vigorously protested against the presumption of subjects in dethroning their lawful monarch. But Moray was a born ruler of men, and, in the words of an English statesman, he "went stoutly to work, resolved rather to imitate those who had led the people of Israel than any captains of that age[2]." Kirkcaldy of Grange was despatched on an unsuccessful errand to seize Bothwell, who was now in the Shetland Islands crowning his mad career as a corsair—a trade which was to bring him to a fitting end in a Danish prison. By the 1st of October the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar were in Moray's hands, and in November he renewed his former work of restoring order on the Borders. So resolute and successful were all his measures that by the autumn even the Hamiltons and the recalcitrant Protestant leaders deemed it prudent to give in their submission. A convention of the Estates which met in December gave its sanction to the various measures of the confederates. Châtelherault was not present, but the assembly was a numerous one, and included four bishops of the old Church, fourteen abbots,

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[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, III. 11—14; *Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 537—542.

[2] Stevenson, *Selections*, p. 282.

twelve earls, sixteen lords and Masters, and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs. Yet, to the delight of Knox, this mixed assembly confirmed all the Acts of 1560 regarding the old and the new religions; and, when the General Assembly met a few days later, it gave jubilant expression to the feelings of all good Protestants. "Our enemies, praised be God," the ministers wrote, "are dashed; religion established; sufficient provision made for ministers; order taken, and penalty appointed for all sort of transgression and transgressors[1]."

1568 But, in spite of this apparent triumph of his government, Moray's position required all his prudence and resolution. His most formidable enemies were the powerful family of the Hamiltons. Since the death of James V the part played by that family had been equally feeble and self-seeking. The party of Mary and the party of Moray each represented a great cause, which honest men and patriots could maintain as being in the highest interest of the country; but the Hamiltons had now supported the one side and now the other, according as the interests of their House had prompted. Châtelherault had been Protestant, Catholic, and Protestant again. He had fought against Mary of Lorraine, he had thwarted her daughter; and, now that Moray had been preferred to him, he was doing his best to make his government impossible. To effect this end the Hamiltons took the surest way. In collusion with their agents, Mary was let loose from Lochleven Castle on the evening of the 2nd of May, and as fast as her horse could carry her she made for their house at Hamilton[2]. Within a few days she was at the head of a formidable force—nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and nearly a hundred barons subscribing a bond to spend their lives in her defence and to replace her on her throne. Moray was in Glasgow when the news of her escape reached him, and he promptly took measures to meet the emergency. The crisis was soon over. It was Mary's wish to retire to Dunbarton Castle as the safest stronghold in her kingdom, and the Dunbarton Road from Hamilton led past Glasgow, where the Regent lay with a force inferior to her own in numbers but superior in its commanders and its discipline. The two forces met at Langside, now a southern suburb of Glasgow—Mary looking on from a neighbouring hill. The battle was short and decisive: in three-quarters of an hour it

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*; Calderwood, II. 399.

[2] She stopped for a short time at Niddrie Castle on the way.

Loch Leven Castle.

was over and the queen's army in irretrievable disaster[1]. With the events of the last twelve months in her mind, Mary had good reason to dread what might be her fate should she again find herself in the power of her victorious enemies, and on veritable wings of fear she fled south by way of Dumfries to Dundrennan on the shores of the Solway, a distance of more than a hundred miles. On the 16th of May she crossed to Workington, in Cumberland, a fugitive and a suppliant in the kingdom which a few years before she had so proudly claimed as her own.

Mary had but failed where the majority of her predecessors had failed before her. Of all her Stewart ancestors, James II and James IV alone had successfully coped with the insubordination of their nobles and left their kingdom in order and tranquillity. But the task of Mary was far more difficult than that of James II or James IV. The inheritance of feudalism was now complicated with the strife of religion, and between them they make the record of the last three years of the reign of Mary. To have been a successful ruler in such circumstances would have implied a precocity of political genius equal to that of Augustus; but with all her brilliant gifts Mary was not a prodigy of sagacity. Yet she undoubtedly displayed qualities which stamp her as a remarkable woman. A woman of ordinary force would have been effaced or overborne by such men as Moray and Maitland and Knox; yet in the immediate contact of intelligence and will she held her own with all the three. In action she was as prompt and decided as she was fertile in resource; and, if her difficulties had only lain with feudal nobles, she might have shown them that a woman was a match for the most intractable baron of them all. Of her grave defects as a woman and as a queen her career can leave us in no manner of doubt. In self-respect, in self-control, in that balance of mind and character which gives weight to judgment and action, Mary was so grievously deficient that we can only regard it as the irony of destiny that so ill-assorted a part was assigned to her in the scheme of things.

[1] A detailed account of the Battle of Langside, with an appendix containing the original authorities, will be found in A. M. Scott's *Battle of Langside*, Glasgow, Hugh Hopkins, 1885.

IV. Social Progress of the Country.

In spite of the "greit alterationis and strange accidentes[1]" of Mary's reign, during no previous period of the national history had the Scottish people taken such a forward stride at once in material well-being and political importance. Mary's reign saw the beginning of the end of feudalism in Scotland and the appearance of a middle class which was thenceforward to determine the development of the country. Writing from Edinburgh in 1572, Killigrew, the English resident in Scotland, has this remarkable sentence: "Methinks I see the noblemen's great credit decay in this country, and the barons, burghs, and such-like take more upon them." It is the sensational events of Mary's reign that have drawn attention to it beyond every reign in Scottish history; but, in truth, its highest interest and importance lie in this transference of moral and political force from the nobles to the people. The main cause of the rapid growth of a powerful middle class was undoubtedly the religious revolution which issued in the overthrow of the ancient Church. In the fierce conflict of opinion the intelligence of the nation was awakened and matured. Nor did this middle class ever again lose its importance. In the period before the reign of Mary the political problem of the country had been the relation of the Crown to the nobles; in the period to come it was to be the relation between the Crown and the educated opinion of the nation as represented by the merchants in the towns and the smaller landowners in the country. For more than a century this new controversy was to proceed, but the revolution of 1689 saw the definitive triumph of the political and religious ideals which had sprung from the Scottish Reformation.

Great as was the turmoil throughout the whole of Mary's reign, at no moment of it was there anything approaching a social cataclysm. On more than one occasion there had been actual civil war, but it had neither been violent nor widespread; and neither government nor trade had been seriously interrupted. The reign lasted twenty-five years, and there met in all twenty-two Parliaments or Conventions[2] for the transaction of public business. As

[1] This is the phrase used in one of Mary's own proclamations.—*Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 514.

[2] "When the Estates were called by the Sovereign, for the particular purpose of imposing a taxation, or upon any special emergency which required immediate deliberation or advice, it got the name of a *Convention of Estates*." Erskine, *Institutes*, Book I, tit. III. § 6. This distinction, however, is not very strictly regarded by the older Scottish historians.

we shall see, also, while the nobility and the Crown were in conflict, the mass of the people were living their own lives and holding their own with other contemporary peoples in the general progress of the time.

The reign of Mary saw no formal constitutional change. The nobles displaced two regents and dethroned a queen, but in all these actions they were but following the plainest example of their fathers. Even when they set up a new religion they protested that they were acting on strictly constitutional principles. To maintain a false religion and a rapacious and immoral priesthood, they urged, was the most flagrant misgovernment; and to correct misgovernment in their princes had been the immemorial right of their advisers. But though there was no formal constitutional change, powers were assumed by a certain body which are without a parallel in previous reigns. This body was the Privy or Secret Council of the sovereign, which dates from the reign of David II, but the character and functions of which were not precisely defined till the beginning of the reign of James IV. In the second year (1489) of that king it was enacted that the Estates should choose a Secret Council "for the ostensioun and forth-putting of the King's autoritie in the administracioun of justice," and that the Council should consist of two bishops, an abbot or a prior, six barons, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Household, the Chamberlain, the Privy Seal, the Secretary, Treasurer, and the Clerk of Register. In addition to its original function of administering justice, it came to exercise both legislative and executive powers. Throughout this reign, indeed, the main work of legislation was done not by the Estates but by the Privy Council. Moreover, its predominance was enhanced by the fact that it was virtually self-elected. Thus, immediately after the return of Mary from France, and again after the murder of Riccio, a Privy Council, consisting of the nobles then in the ascendant, was constituted without consultation with the Estates, which on neither occasion were in session. The Estates, indeed, were professedly the ultimate source of authority; but, as they met only four times during the actual reign of Mary, their part in the conduct of affairs was strictly subordinate. It will be seen, therefore, that the Council practically corresponded to what is now called the Government of the day, the composition of which depended on the rise and fall of the parties who were contending for the direction of the State[1].

[1] The *Register of the Privy Council* dates from 1545. The first volume was published in 1877 under the superintendence of Dr Hill Burton.

The foundation of the College of Justice by James V in 1532 had been a great step towards the efficient administration of the law; yet it is evident that the college was far indeed from being the august institution which its designation implied. In a well-known passage of his "Satire of the Three Estates" Sir David Lyndsay has keenly touched the miscarriage of justice in the secular and Church courts of his time:

Diligence. Quhair wald thou be, Carle? The suth to me schaw.
Pauper. Sir, evin to Sanct-Androes, for to seik law.
Diligence. For to seik law, in Edinburgh was the neirest way.
Pauper. I socht law thair this monie deir day;
Bot I could get nane at Session nor Seinzie [Consistory];
Thairfor, the meikle din [dun] Devill drown all the meinzie [crew].

At a later day George Buchanan affirmed that the College of Justice had become the instrument of tyrannical oppression from which there was no appeal; and the continuous legislation regarding the administration of justice fully confirms his assertion. To allay the universal complaints, Mary and Darnley proclaimed that they would hold Justice Ayres throughout the country for the benefit of the lieges; in the meeting of Estates convened by the regent Moray in December, 1567, it was enacted that a new "Session" should be set up in Aberdeen or some other suitable town, to consist of six lords and a president; and a Commission was appointed to codify the civil and municipal law of the country. It was only by the slow growth of public opinion, however, that those evils were to be cured which the legislation of each successive reign was impotent to remove.

The legislation of Mary's reign proves that the civil commotions did not interrupt the general progress of the country. In 1545 the old commercial treaty with Flanders was renewed, though it was endangered a few years later by a high-handed proceeding on the part of the Flemings in seizing fourteen Scotch merchant ships[1]. Owing to the alleged negligence of the Conservator of Scots Privileges at Campvere[2], the trade with Flanders had fallen off; and in 1565 the Privy Council drew up a series of stringent regulations with the object of restoring it[3]. As in previous reigns, the state of the coinage was a frequent subject of legislation—the circulation of foreign money and the "transportation" of silver and gold being the chief source of trouble. In 1545 the Council forbade the circulation of the "new Inglis grote of Ingland, callet

[1] *P. C. R.*, I. pp. 18, 19. [2] See *ante*, Vol. I. [3] *P. C. R.*, I. p. 332.

the grote with the braid face," and in 1550 put a similar prohibition on the "clippit sowsis" [*sous*] and "clippit carolus" of France[1]. To retain silver in the country not only were native traders forbidden to carry it abroad, but foreigners who came to transact business in Scotland were commanded to spend Scottish silver and gold in the purchase of Scottish goods[2].

According to Bishop Leslie, who was acquainted both with France and England, the privileges of Scottish merchants were so great that with moderate frugality they could hardly fail to become rich; and the sumptuary laws of successive reigns would seem to corroborate his statement. By the Parliament of December, 1567, it was enacted that no women should dress above their station. But the most remarkable law was one passed by the Privy Council in 1550 and endorsed by the Estates in the following year. By this law it was decreed that archbishops, bishops, and earls were to limit themselves to eight dishes; lords, abbots, priors, and deans to six; barons and freeholders to four; and burgesses to three—one kind of meat only being in every dish[3]. A succession of dearths throughout the reign led to desperate remedial measures. The export of grain was strictly forbidden, and the prices of meat, fowl, and all ordinary provisions determined by law. In 1555 the Estates decreed that no lambs should be eaten for the next three years, and in 1562 the Privy Council renewed the enactment; in 1563 farmers were commanded to thresh all their corn before the 10th of July on pain of its confiscation; and in 1567 the lieges were forbidden to eat meat more than four days a week—though in cases of sickness exemption might be obtained from the magistrate. In the case of wines we have a curious example of class legislation. It was enacted that wines were to be kept for four days in harbour till the queen, prelates, earls, lords, and barons had bought what they wanted, and that after they had been served a fixed price should be set on what remained for sale among the lieges.

The number of commodities which were forbidden to be exported was considerable. Among them were horses, which had become scarce owing to so many of them having been shipped to

[1] *P. C. R.*, I. pp. 10, 11.—On the other hand, it was enacted in 1550, 1551, that French sous, caroluses, and liards should be accepted as legal tender—an Act meant for the benefit of the French soldiery in Scotland. *Ibid.* pp. 106, 118.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 68, 96.

[3] Such a law was, of course, not peculiar to Scotland; but it is interesting to find that it was necessary in a country generally considered so poverty-stricken.

France; all kinds of coal except what was used in smithies; tallow and hides, the export of which last had made boots and shoes exorbitantly dear. In spite of all the past legislation against "sturdy beggars," the profession was as flourishing as ever. From an edict of 1552 we learn that, wherever the Regent and the Court appeared, they were mobbed by crowds of vociferous and importunate mendicants. For the "staunching" of this evil it was enacted that no beggar should pursue his trade out of his own parish; but many a day was to elapse before "the decay of beggars" was to render the class an object of romantic interest.

The immediate result of the religious revolution was not favourable to the higher studies in Scotland. When the Reformation came, the subjects of study and the methods of teaching in the three Scottish universities were still those of the Middle Age, which in other countries had been so largely modified by the Revival of Learning. Canon Law made the chief part of their curriculum; Greek was unknown even in St Andrews[1]; and the Latin which was taught was that of the schoolmen and not of Cicero. St Andrews, the oldest university, had specially suffered during the conflict of religious opinion. In 1557 ten students in all attended St Mary's College in that university; ten, St Leonard's; and eleven, St Salvator's; while in 1563 the numbers were respectively fifteen, twelve, and twelve. The University of Glasgow still led a precarious existence, though a brighter day was awaiting it under the inspiration of Andrew Melville; and that of Aberdeen, owing to the attachment of its teachers to the old religion, was seriously hampered by the interference of the ministers[2]. That education did not immediately profit by the change in religion was certainly no fault of the Scottish reformers. In the Book of Discipline they drafted a scheme of university, secondary, and elementary education, which, however, like other suggestions in the same book, neither the public means nor the state of the country permitted them to realise. Yet the ideal thus sketched was never lost sight of by their successors, and in due time Scotland was provided with a system of education which placed her at advantage over every country in Europe.

[1] At least in St Mary's College.—James Melville's *Diary*, p. 39 (ed. 1842). Greek, however, was not unknown in Scotland. See M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, Period First, Note 6; and Grant's *Burgh Schools of Scotland*.

[2] Alexander Galloway's visitation of Aberdeen University in 1549 proves that even by that date it had fallen from its first prosperity. R. S. Rait, *The Universities of Aberdeen, A History*, pp. 85 *et seq.*

Gold Piece (Rider) of James III.

Plack of James IV (Billon).

Unicorn (Gold) of James V.

Ducat or Bonnet Piece (Gold) of James V.

Bawbee of James V (Billon).

Three-Pound Piece (Gold) of Mary (1557).

Plate XI

The evidence of legislation to the comparative prosperity of the country is borne out by the testimony of two Frenchmen who visited Scotland during the reign of Mary. The one was Jean de Beaugué, who took part in the campaigns conducted by the French against the English after the battle of Pinkie and wrote their history. In the course of his narrative he gives a brief description of the chief towns of Scotland, which is interesting in the absence of fuller information. St Andrews he describes as "one of the best towns in Scotland," but with the disadvantage of possessing neither a good harbour nor good roads; Perth as "a very pretty place, pleasant and well fitted to be the site of a good town"; Aberdeen as "a rich and handsome town inhabited by an excellent people"; Montrose as "a beautiful town" with "a very good harbour"; Dundee as "one of the finest towns in Scotland"; and Dunbar as "among the most beautiful towns in the isles of the ocean[1]." The other visitor was a physician named Estienne Perlin, who appears to have been in the country in 1551 or 1552. "The country," he says, "is but poor in gold and silver, but plentiful in provisions, which are as cheap as in any part of the world...They [the Scots] have plenty of corn and calves, on which account their flesh is cheap; and in my time bread was tolerably cheap." And he adds elsewhere "that nothing is scarce here but money." He also notes that the chief crops were barley, peas, and beans. The great number of the churches and monasteries appears to have struck him; and he informs us that the ecclesiastics were richer than the nobles. His final impression was "that from day to day the country strengthens and amends, and is in a daily state of improvement[2]."

To the reign of Mary belong no such prominent literary figures as Henryson, or Dunbar, or Gavin Douglas; for the chief work of Sir David Lyndsay was done in the reign of her predecessor. Yet, if men with the requisite gifts had appeared, there were themes ready to hand and a national impulse for their inspiration. In the conflict of the two religions a great moral satirist might have found a subject that would have evoked all his powers; but it was left for one man only, John Knox, to show what in plain prose could be made out of the experience of a nation in the throes of a second birth. Such literature as was actually produced bears the stamp of the absorbing preoccupations of the time. The

[1] *Early Travellers in Scotland* (David Douglas), pp. 64 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 72 *et seq.*

hatred of England and the predilection for France found expression in the anonymous piece entitled "The Complaynt of Scotland," written during the latter years of the Regency of Arran. To the same period belong the most interesting poetical products of the Reformation movement—"The Gude and Godlie Ballates." By their skilful adaptation of popular songs to the double purpose of ridiculing the old Church and of extolling the new, these ballads were among the most potent causes of the Reformation; and the Estates vainly legislated against their subtle and pervasive action. The most praiseworthy production of the dying Church was the well-known Catechism (1552) associated with the name of Archbishop Hamilton. Written in the Scottish dialect, it expounds in simple and attractive fashion the cardinal doctrines of the Catholic Church. Had it appeared half a century earlier, and had its teaching been laid to heart by the clergy themselves, their Church might have had a different fate in Scotland. The *Tractates* of Ninian Winzet, who crossed swords with Knox in the great controversy of their day, are also the work of a member of the old Church, who by his character and intelligence maintained its best traditions. The national excitement produced by the murder of Darnley and the events that followed found expression in a multitude of satirical poems, written for the most part from the Protestant standpoint; but not one of these attained that measure of force or beauty which lends a permanent interest to the fleeting conditions of the hour. The one great literary monument of the period was the "History of the Reformation" by John Knox, whose singular fortune it was to be at once the hierophant and the interpreter of the religious movement with which his name is identified. The most convincing proof of the greatness of the book is to imagine it unwritten. From State documents and such contemporary historians as Buchanan, Bishop Leslie, and Sir James Melville, the details of the struggle may be deduced with sufficient clearness and accuracy; but it is the genius of Knox that has transmitted to us the moving lineaments of the time. When the gospel he proclaimed has ceased to be for his countrymen the divine counsel it was for himself, Knox's History must still remain the most interesting record in their national history, since another such moral and intellectual revolution and another individuality like that of Knox can hardly be in the destinies of any people.

It was with eyes fully open that the Scottish nation made choice of the Calvinistic theology and religion as the highest

revelation which had been made to men. The same gospel was received in other countries, but in Scotland alone it became the dominating force in moulding the temper and the ideals of the people. In England the Reformation did not preclude the Elizabethan drama nor the perpetuation of the spirit that produced it; and in France Calvin and Bossuet and Fénelon find their antithesis in Rabelais and Montaigne and Molière. In Scotland there has been no such equal division of spiritual and intellectual forces and no parallel succession of men of genius representing opposing views of life. To ascribe this to the Reformation, however, is to confound the effect and the cause. It was by natural affinity that Scotland adopted the special form of Christianity which had been formulated by Calvin; and in adopting it the nation impressed it with its own moral and intellectual characteristics. That for three centuries the Scottish people have clung with such tenacity to this type of religion is conclusive proof that at a particular stage of their development it embodied the highest ideal they could conceive of human life and destiny. It is in the racial tendencies, in the conditions of the national life that we must look for the explanation of that "narrow intensity" which is the special note of the Scottish genius and character. Scotland with its limited area, its niggard soil, and scanty population, could not in the nature of things have evolved a civilisation so rich and various as that of England or France. Yet, if she has not produced a Shakespeare or a Molière, and has closed her eyes to certain of the richest prospects in human life and experience, the world has recognised that her people have played their own part and taken their own place among the nations, and that among her sons are not a few who have contributed to the highest pleasure and the highest profit of the race.

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES VI (1567—1625).

English Sovereign.		French King.	
Elizabeth	1558—1603	Charles IX ...	1560—1574
Pope: Pius V ...	1566—1572		

I. Regency of Moray.

The brief regency of Moray was a period of special trial in Christendom. In England the long-dreaded revolt of the Catholics of the North at length came to a head under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland; in France the nation passed through the ordeal of a third war of religion; and in the Low Countries the Duke of Alva carried out his master's will against heretics through the agency of his remorseless "Tribunal of Blood." Scotland had its own troubles during the same period, yet her lot was happy compared with that of the Low Countries or France.

Decisive as had been his victory at Langside, Moray soon had occasion to know that the strength of his enemies was far from being broken. Indeed, if they could have combined their forces, his chance of another victory would have been precarious; for with the Hamiltons were arrayed against him the Protestant Earl of Argyle and the Catholic Earl of Huntly—both bound to the Duke of Châtelherault by ties of blood. Except by compulsion, the duke, it was certain, would never acknowledge the government of Moray. The regency, he maintained, was his by right of blood; and there was, moreover, a special reason for his refusing to recognise James VI as a lawful king. The duke was the heir of Mary, but not the heir of her son. Should James die a lawful king, Charles, the brother of Darnley, would be his lineal successor on the throne of Scotland[1]. It was the House of Hamilton, therefore, that Moray had mainly to fear throughout his

1568

[1] Arabella Stewart, in whose favour a conspiracy was formed on the accession of James VI to the English throne, was the daughter of this Charles.

brief rule; and they were to compass his destruction in the end, though with little honour and as little profit to themselves.

Though the majority of the nobles were against him, the government of Moray possessed elements of strength that eventually ensured the triumph of the party of the young king. In its triple aim of maintaining James on the throne, of alliance with England, and of the establishment of Protestantism, it had the earnest support of the chief towns in the kingdom. Sooner or later, also, Elizabeth, however much against her will, was bound to give her support to that party in Scotland, the interests of which were identical with her own. Moreover, of all the nobles in Scotland, Moray and his ally, Morton, were the only two who possessed the vigour and the capacity to conduct the affairs of a nation.

With a small but compact Council, of which the chief members were the Earls of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, and Menteith, and the Lords Semple, Ruthven and Ochiltree, Moray took decisive measures to improve his late victory. Those who still held strongholds for the queen were peremptorily commanded to surrender them, and prominent persons who refused allegiance to the king were outlawed and forfeited—Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, among the rest. In June an expedition, headed by Moray, Morton, and Lord Hume, pacified Dumfries and Galloway—districts ever ready to profit by the relaxation of authority, and at this time specially troublesome as being mainly devoted to the exiled queen. But the Regent, with characteristic resolution, prepared to deal a decisive blow at the whole formidable array of his enemies. He issued orders for a Convention of Estates on the 16th of August, in order to condemn as traitors every noble who should refuse to acknowledge the existing government. To avert the dreaded sentence, Huntly and Argyle took up arms with the intention of uniting their forces and marching against Edinburgh, where the Estates were to meet. Civil war would have been the immediate result; but, for reasons to be immediately explained, Elizabeth intervened and effected a temporary arrangement between the contending parties. Huntly and Argyle agreed to lay down their arms, and Moray to postpone the decree of forfeiture till certain matters were settled on which the fate of the kingdom was depending. Therefore, when the Estates met in August, Argyle and Huntly were spared, but the full sentence of outlawry was pronounced on a long list of persons, chiefly of the stock of the

Hamiltons; and a few days later the same sentence was passed on the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, and the Lords Fleming and Herries—the last, one of the most notable of the champions of the exiled queen[1].

1568 When Mary sought an asylum in England after the overthrow of her hopes at Langside, it was against the advice of her truest friends; and their forebodings were speedily fulfilled. The arrival of Mary in her kingdom placed Elizabeth in the most embarrassing of political dilemmas. To restore the Scottish queen to her throne would have meant the ruin of Moray; and the government of Moray, as events were to show, was bound up with the interests of England. On the other hand, as events were also to show, the presence of Mary in England was a standing danger at once to the life and the government of Elizabeth. In these circumstances, therefore, reasons of State overbore whatever natural feelings Elizabeth may have entertained towards the unhappy fugitive. In alarm and indignation Mary prayed that at least her complaints against her rebellious subjects might be heard. Mary had made a false move, and Elizabeth grasped at the advantage. The request was granted, but in a form that led to results far different from Mary's anticipations. As matters were arranged by Elizabeth, she herself, Mary, and the Regent Moray were to send Commissioners to York to discuss the questions at issue between the Scottish queen and her subjects. Though both Mary and Moray professed to regard Elizabeth merely as a friendly arbiter, in point of fact Elizabeth virtually constituted herself a judge between two unwilling litigants.

1568 On October 8 the whole body of Commissioners met at York. For Elizabeth came the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; for Mary, the Lords Boyd, Herries, and Livingstone, the Abbot of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Skirving, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross; and for James VI, Moray, Morton, Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord Lyndsay, with Lethington, George Buchanan, James Makgill, and Henry Balnaves as assistants. The ostensible object of the conference was to hear Mary's charges against her subjects and the justification which these subjects had to offer for their conduct in dethroning their queen. The line taken by the representatives

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, I. 616 *et seq.*; *Ban. Miscell.*, Vol. II.; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 131; Spottiswoode, II. 90; Calderwood, II. 417.

of Mary was one which could not but commend itself to every crowned head in Europe; they accused the supporters of the Regency of flat rebellion against their lawful sovereign. The rejoinder of Moray and his fellow-commissioners was that Mary had broken the laws of the kingdom, and generally proved herself incapable of ruling her people. But they had a weapon in their hands, which they fully intended to use if circumstances should make it necessary. Immediately after the affair of Carbery Hill there had come into the hands of Morton a silver casket which had originally belonged to Mary's first husband, Francis II, and which she had presented to her third husband, Bothwell. In this casket, as was alleged by Morton, were found certain letters and so-called sonnets, which proved Mary to have aided and abetted in the murder of Darnley[1]. But the representatives of all three parties now met at York were as far as possible from composing a disinterested tribunal bent on discovering and revealing the truth of the matters before them. For Elizabeth the one question to be considered was how to end the controversy between Mary and her subjects with the greatest advantage to England. As for Mary, she had too good reason to shrink from a curious scrutiny into her relations with Bothwell and Darnley. Nor were the allies of Moray in a position to be specially eager for the revelation of the whole truth, since two of their number—Morton and Lethington—had been directly concerned in Darnley's murder.

In these circumstances, the conduct and result of the conference were precisely what was to be expected. Since it was the interest of none of the parties to expose the whole truth, futile recrimination and diplomatic evasion could be their only resource. Even the exhibition of the Casket Letters, to which Moray at length consented, only led to fresh charges and counter-charges between the two Scottish parties. From York, by Elizabeth's order, the Commissioners removed to Westminster and thence to Hampton Court, where at length (January 10, 1569) her Secretary, Sir William Cecil, produced her final deliverance. Lame and impotent as this deliverance was, it explains the main object of Elizabeth throughout the whole proceedings. Moray and his allies were told that nothing had been alleged against them which might "impair their honour or allegiance"; and, on the other hand, Mary was given to understand that nothing had been produced against her "whereby the Queen of England should conceive

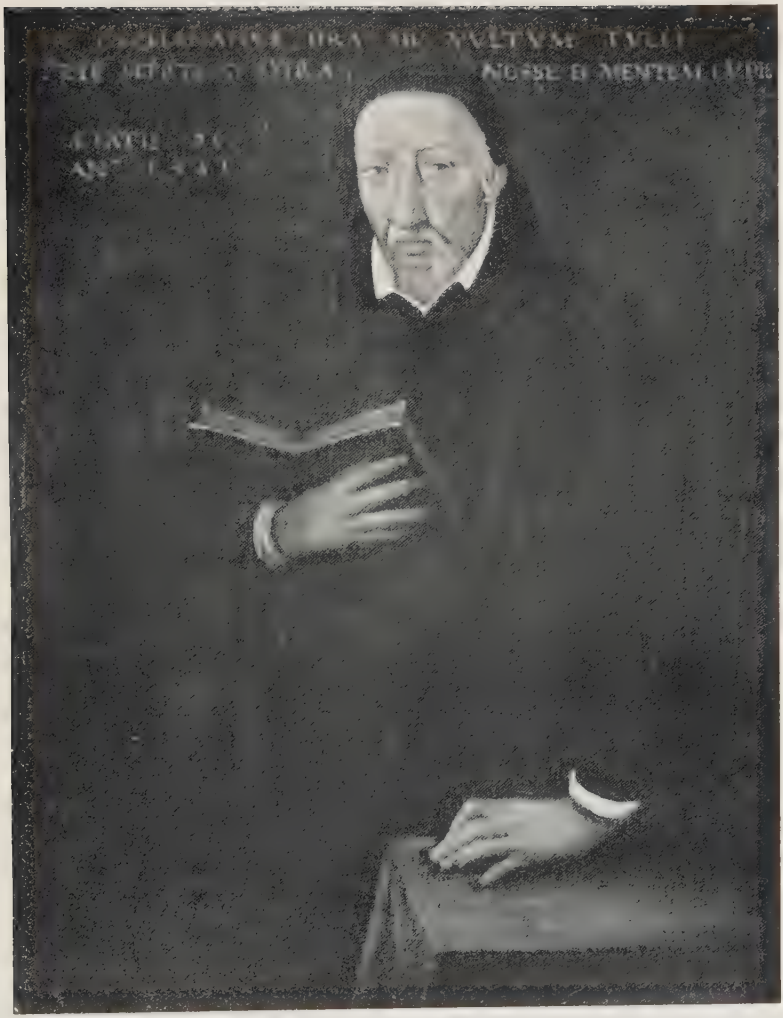
[1] The Earl of Morton's Declaration.—Henderson, *Casket Letters*, pp. 113—116.

or take any evil opinion" of her. With such meaningless words the conference closed; but its practical conclusion was of momentous consequence for the future of Scotland. Mary was retained a prisoner in England, and Moray was sent home with hands strengthened to administer the government in the name of James VI[1].

1569 After a journey of some risk, owing to the hostility of the Catholics of the North of England, Moray found himself at home in the beginning of February, 1569. Immediately on his arrival he held a Convention at Stirling, in which he gave an account of his late mission to England. More than ever he needed the support of all who were friendly to his government. His enemies had not been idle during his absence. They had circulated all manner of reports to discredit his authority. They said that he had sold his country to England, that he had offered to put James in the hands of Elizabeth, and to receive English garrisons into the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Many strong places, the castles of Draffan and Roslin among others, had been taken, and were being held for Mary. But it was in the west, which was dominated by Argyle and the Hamiltons, that the Regent had to look for the most formidable

[1] If the Casket Letters had never existed, it would not appreciably have affected the course of Scottish history. The majority of Mary's subjects were convinced of Mary's connivance at Darnley's murder, and, supported by public opinion, the insurgent lords were enabled to make themselves masters of the country. Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven, her dethronement, the battle of Langside, her flight to England, and her subsequent imprisonment must all have resulted even if the famous Casket had never been discovered. Whether Mary wrote the Casket Letters, therefore, can hardly be considered a historical question. But further—the Casket documents hold but a subordinate place in the evidence that goes to prove that she was privy to the crime of the Kirk of Field. It is from Mary's relations to the various parties, and from her conduct before and after the deed that we are justified in concluding her guilty.

Three conclusions have been held regarding the Letters—that they are wholly genuine, that they are wholly forged, that they are partly genuine and partly forged. From the data at present before us I believe that none of these conclusions is clearly deducible. The usual methods of detecting forgery fail us completely in the case of these documents. We do not possess the originals, so that no inference can be drawn from handwriting. In regard to their contents we are equally at fault. They give information which we do not find elsewhere, but we are unable to decide whether that information be true or false. They also contradict statements found in other sources, but we cannot say with which the verity lies. That the problem of the Letters is insoluble is virtually the conclusion of Mr A. Lang in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*. Mr Lang's examination appears to me the most dispassionate and most ingenious to which the Letters have been subjected. With Mr Lang's book may be read that of Mr T. F. Henderson (*The Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots*, 2nd ed., 1890). Mr Henderson declares for the genuineness of the Letters. The literature on Queen Mary will be found in the Bibliography at the end of this volume.



George Buchanan.

opposition; and he at once took measures to deal with his enemies in their own strongholds. He issued an order requiring the lieges to meet him at Glasgow on the 10th of March, in warlike guise and with twenty days' provisions[1].

Meanwhile the supporters of Mary were also bestirring themselves. While Moray was in England, the Duke of Châtelherault had arrived from France, and had besought Elizabeth to support him in his claim to the Regency. Elizabeth had refused his request; but Mary had sent him down to Scotland with a commission as her deputy-lieutenant, and with similar commissions for Huntly and Argyle to serve under him, the one to the north, the other to the south of the river Forth. The Duke arrived on the 17th of February, and on the 27th he addressed a letter to the General Assembly, then in session at Edinburgh, in which he protested against the muster of the lieges at Glasgow as being mainly directed against himself. The task of answering the Duke was entrusted to Knox, who in his usual vigorous style justified the action of Moray as at once in the interest of the State and of religion. Again, when it came to an actual trial of strength, the Regent proved too strong for his adversaries. On the 10th of March he was in Glasgow attended by Morton and Hume and by a considerable force which he had taken care to strengthen with five pieces of ordnance. Should it prove necessary, he was ready to march on Hamilton and try conclusions with the Duke. But the Duke was in no position to oppose such a force as was now at the Regent's command, and together with the Earl of Cassillis and Lord Herries he presented himself at Glasgow, and offered to come to terms. He agreed to acknowledge the king's authority and to give hostages for his good faith; and for the better understanding of all parties it was arranged that a Convention should be held in Edinburgh in the following month of April[2]. 1569

Meanwhile, the Regent employed his time in the work which he had always specially at heart—the furthering of law and justice on the Borders. The Convention met on the 14th of April; and the Duke, Cassillis, and Herries duly appeared in accordance with their pledges. But one circumstance made any understanding between the two parties impossible: Argyle and Huntly still held

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 139 *et seq.*; Calderwood, II. 477 *et seq.*

[2] Calderwood, II. 477 *et seq.*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 139 *et seq.*; Spottiswoode, II. 110 *et seq.*

aloof and were actually in arms for Mary. With regard to the three nobles who had appeared, the Regent was in a dilemma from which there was only one escape. Should he leave them at large, they would join forces with Huntly and Argyle, and he would have to face their united strength. As Herries and the Duke failed to give satisfactory pledges for their future conduct, they were committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, while Cassillis, who proved more pliable, was permitted to go at large[1].

Huntly and Argyle remained to be dealt with, and the Regent at once let them both know where they stood. If they did not appear at St Andrews by the 10th of May, they were told, they would be counted rebels against the king's authority and be treated as such. Argyle was the first to appear, and, as his offences had not been so serious as those of Huntly, he had no difficulty in making his peace with the Regent, with whom in former days he had been so closely associated. With Huntly, who appeared later[2], there was more difficulty. In Aberdeenshire, Angus, and the Mearns, he had borne himself like a king, and made free with the goods of all those who acknowledged the Regency. But moderation was the governing principle of Moray's policy; and even Huntly, whom he now had at his mercy, was let off on easy terms. All his misdemeanours were pardoned on condition that he should acknowledge the king's authority, that he should make restitution to all whom he had spoiled, and that he should be responsible for the future conduct of his immediate followers. Having thus disposed of Huntly and Argyle, Moray, in the beginning of June, at the head of a strong force, marched through the counties of Aberdeen, Elgin, and Inverness. There was no force to oppose him, and his visit was confined to the work of imposing heavy fines on those who had taken part in the late disorders. So thoroughly did he accomplish the object of his expedition that, in the words of a contemporary chronicler, "there was none within the bounds of the north but they were subdued to the king's authority[3]."

1569 While at Elgin, on his northern expedition, Moray received two communications which involved the future of Scotland. They came from Elizabeth and Mary respectively, and each contained proposals and demands which

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 142, 3; Calderwood, II. 487.

[2] According to Calderwood, Huntly did not appear at St Andrews.—II. 487, 8.

[3] Calderwood, II. 487 *et seq.*; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 144, 5; Spottiswoode, II. 112.

could be considered only by the assembled councillors of the country. To answer the two queens, therefore, a Convention was ordered to assemble at Perth on July 25th. The importance of the business in hand was proved by the numerous attendance of all classes in the country. Besides the Regent, there were present nine earls, five bishops, eight abbots and priors, fifteen lords, and twenty commissioners of burghs. The communication of Elizabeth was first considered. It contained three proposals regarding the exiled queen, the significance of which, as coming from Elizabeth, it is difficult to understand. Mary should either be restored to her throne, or should be made joint ruler with her son, or should be maintained as a private person. The majority of the Convention had little difficulty in deciding between these alternatives. Under no conditions would they have Mary again to rule over them: if, however, she were willing to settle among them as a private person, they would consider its advisability in the interests of the country. With respect to Mary's own communication, the keenest feelings were aroused. Its purport was that measures should be taken to procure her divorce from Bothwell[1]. But the divorce from Bothwell, as everybody knew, was to be the first step in a scheme of far-reaching importance. During the late Conference in England there had been much secret negotiation for a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, who, though nominally a Protestant, was regarded as the head of the Catholic party in England. The scheme had the approval of many of the leading English nobles, Protestant as well as Catholic, and in Scotland it had the powerful support of Maitland of Lethington. So long, however, as Moray stood in the way, the chances of its success were not promising; and by threats and inducements Moray had been industriously assailed. In his own interests, he was told, it was expedient that he should lend his influence to secure the Norfolk marriage and the restoration of Mary to her kingdom. Beset as he was by so many difficulties, he could not hope to maintain his present position, while by restoring Mary he would become the first subject in the country. But Moray, with his sober judgment, saw the hollowness of the whole Norfolk project. He knew the feebleness of Norfolk's own character; he knew that

[1] According to George Sand, a peculiarly interesting critic in this connection, there are three great blots on Mary's character—her allowing Châtelar to be executed, her feigned caresses of Darnley, and her abandonment of Bothwell.—Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, 11 août, 1851.

Elizabeth would never consent to the proposed union; and he knew that the restoration of Mary would mean but the continued postponement of the two great objects which it had been the endeavour of his life to promote—the establishment of Protestantism and the English alliance. Moray, therefore, was immoveable, and after heated discussion he carried the Convention with him in decisively refusing to further Mary's divorce[1].

1569 In the open trial of strength, Moray had proved too strong for Châtelherault, Huntly, and Argyle combined. But the greatest danger from the Marian party lay in the support it received from the Catholics of England. That section of Elizabeth's subjects were at length about to make the attempt which she had so long dreaded. Supported by the Pope and Philip of Spain, and making common cause with the supporters of Mary in Scotland, they might look with some confidence to the result of an appeal to open force. Through the summer and autumn of 1569 the train was being laid for the revolt of the Northern Earls, which broke out in November. In the widespread conspiracy no one was more deeply engaged than Maitland, whose abilities and influence made him the most dangerous enemy of the Regent. As things now stood, it was clear that if Maitland were left at large the existing government was impossible. In August or the beginning of September there was a gathering of the Marian chiefs at Dunkeld, among whom Maitland and the Earl of Athol were the most prominent. Such a meeting could have but one object, and it may have prompted Moray and Morton to a decided step. A Convention had been appointed to meet at Stirling on the 3rd of September for the purpose of considering the reply of Elizabeth to the communication which had been sent to her from Perth. This Convention Maitland was invited to attend, and, as refusal would have meant defiance, he duly made his appearance. Doubtless with the approval of Moray, and certainly at the instance of Morton, one Thomas Crawford, a retainer of Lennox, of whom we shall hear again, accused him before the assembly of being implicated in the murder of Darnley. We know that Maitland had been an aider and abettor of Bothwell; but he was charged with the crime at this particular moment for the double reason that he was the personal enemy of Morton and that his seclusion was a political necessity. It was accordingly

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, II. pp. 1—6; Spottiswoode, II. 113—116; Calderwood, II. 489, 90; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 145.

decreed that he should be tried on the 21st of December, and that meanwhile he should be placed in ward. Ever fertile in expedients, however, Maitland cleverly eluded his enemies. He was warded in a private house in Edinburgh; but Kirkcaldy of Grange, by means of a forged letter, contrived to convey the prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, of which Moray had made him commander[1].

In the interval before the day of Maitland's trial, Moray performed his last great service to his country. In spite of all his previous efforts, the Border districts still continued to give trouble. We have seen that for successive centuries every King of Scots had experienced his own difficulties with these parts of his kingdom; but at this juncture there were special reasons for unusual insubordination. Many of the great families of the south were keen supporters of Mary, and on the English border they had the countenance of the great Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. Of all Moray's expeditions to these districts, this was the most memorable. In the words of a contemporary, "there was such obedience made by the said thieves to the said regent, as the like was never done to no king in no man's days of before[2]."

As the day of Maitland's trial drew near, it became apparent that it could not take place without a civil war. Athole, Huntly, and the Hamiltons appeared at Linlithgow, and were stayed from coming to Edinburgh only by the express command of the Regent. In Edinburgh itself the friends of Maitland were in such numbers that the common talk was that the Regent dared not proceed with the trial; yet if he had chosen, he might have crushed his enemies once for all. At Dalkeith, six miles off, Morton lay with 3000 men, and only waited the signal to march on Edinburgh. Moray, however, was no remorseless soldier, and to prevent inevitable bloodshed he postponed a trial, which he himself, bound as he was by old ties to Maitland, had probably never desired[3].

But there were other reasons why Moray should at this moment desire to avoid a civil war. News had reached him that the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were in rebellion; and the success of that rebellion, he knew, would mean the restoration of Mary and the end of the

1569

[1] Spottiswoode, II. 118; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 147—149; Calderwood, II. 504.

[2] *Ibid.* It was Moray who began that policy towards the Borders, which was systematically carried out by James VI. That policy was simply to exterminate or drive from the country every person who was not content to be a law-abiding citizen.

[3] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 151; Calderwood, II. 506, 7.

government of James VI[1]. To prevent the Marian faction in Scotland, and especially on the Borders, from assisting the English earls, was thus his immediate duty; and he issued a proclamation ordering the lieges to meet him in arms at Perth, on the 20th of December. But by that date the English revolt was at an end, and the two earls were fugitives in Scotland. By the unwritten law of the Borders they were safe from extradition; and to break this law was to defy the public opinion not only of the Borders but of the whole country. With his ideas of public order, however, Moray was not the man to defer to a prescription which virtually meant that the welfare of the country was to be sacrificed to the interest of a body of outlaws. In this particular case, moreover, the rank and the late conduct of the fugitives rendered it an absolute necessity of State that they should be prevented from making mischief in Scotland. In the teeth of public opinion, therefore, and even against the will of his coadjutor Morton, Moray took steps for the capture of the two earls. About the 20th of December he was at Peebles, and on the 30th he was back in Edinburgh with the Earl of Northumberland in his keeping. Westmorland eluded his efforts, however, and by his subsequent conduct in Scotland fully justified Moray's defiance of public opinion[2].

Every attempt to overthrow the government of Moray had failed; and the miscarriage of the English revolt had cut off the hope of a possible restoration of Mary. But there still remained one means to be tried, which in the 16th century was the last resort for the removal of a troublesome enemy; and for the application of this means the Hamiltons found a serviceable tool.

1570 On the 2nd of January, 1570, Moray left Edinburgh, and crossed the Queen's Ferry in company with the captive Northumberland, whom he placed for greater security in the Castle of Lochleven. The object of his journey was to obtain possession of Dunbarton Castle—the only strong place still held for Mary. Its commander, Lord Fleming, had led him to believe that he would surrender it on certain conditions; but when Moray appeared before the place, he found that he had been mocked. Leaving a force to continue the siege, he retraced his steps towards Edinburgh by way of Glasgow and Stirling. He reached Lin-

[1] The Duke of Norfolk, whose practices had been discovered, was committed to the Tower on the 11th of October.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 153; Calderwood, II. 509.

James I at the Tomb of his father.

lithgow on the 22nd, with the intention of proceeding to Edinburgh on the following day. But this journey he was not to accomplish. From Glasgow his steps had been dogged by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a nephew of Archbishop Hamilton, who had been saved after the battle of Langside by Moray's own order. Moray had been warned that Hamilton was on his track and had chosen the morrow to strike his blow. But Moray's life had already been sought more than once; and, though the offer was even made to bring the intending assassin before him, he refused to consider the proposal. One precaution, however, he agreed to take—to ride out of the town by the way he had come. But so great was the crowd next day that this was found to be impossible, and through a closely pressing throng the Regent slowly rode past the window where Hamilton was awaiting him. The assassin had taken every precaution to make sure of his victim and to provide for his own safety. The house where he took his stand belonged to his uncle the archbishop; sheets to hide the smoke from his hackbut were hung round the window whence he was to fire the fatal shot; and a horse at a postern gate was ready to bear him to his kinsmen at Hamilton. His measures were taken with a precaution that precluded failure: Moray was shot through the body, and his murderer was safe that night among his jubilant friends. At first, it was supposed that the Regent's wound was not mortal. He felt no pain, and he alighted from his horse, and walked to the house which he had just left. He lived till about an hour before midnight, evincing during his last hours that calmness and magnanimity which belonged to him by nature, and which profound religious convictions had transmuted into Christian faith and hope. Three weeks later (February 14) the Regent's body was borne from Holyrood to the Church of St Giles, when John Knox preached a sermon from the text, "Blessed are those which die in the Lord." So great was the eloquence of the preacher and so sympathetic was the response of his audience that "he made three thousand persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godly governor[1]."

The work accomplished by Moray has in large degree been overshadowed by the work of Knox, whose character and achievement were of a kind to make a wider appeal to the popular imagination. Yet of the two men it was Moray who indubitably

[1] Calderwood, II. 510, 11; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 156; Spottiswoode, II. 119—121.

did the most to ensure the success of the Scottish Reformation. This was fully perceived by Knox himself, and it was as clearly perceived by Mary of Lorraine and her daughter. It was the work of Knox to proclaim the new faith with prophetic power and zeal, but he never failed to recognise that it was only with Moray's aid that the immediate and final triumph of Protestantism was possible. From the beginning of his public career, there were two aims to which all Moray's action had been directed—the establishment of Protestantism and the alliance with England; and Knox himself was not more steadily consistent in the pursuit of them. When he embraced the new faith, it was at a time when its prospects gave but uncertain promise of its future triumph, and when worldly interest would have prompted him to throw himself on the side of Mary of Lorraine and of France. His conduct towards his sister was all that could have been demanded of a brother and a patriot. Against the desire of the main body of the Protestants, he secured to her the private exercise of her own religion, and he used all the influence at his disposal to persuade Elizabeth to grant to her the reversion of the English Crown. When Mary married Darnley, he refused to take part in her councils; and the immediate consequences of that union were the complete justification of his conduct. By her marriage with Bothwell Mary made her continuance on the throne impossible; and her subsequent scheme of a marriage with Norfolk would, if carried out, have plunged England and Scotland in an internecine war. When Moray assumed the Regency, he was in simple truth the only person capable of saving his country; and the office fell to him as a natural function to which he was summoned alike by the call of public duty and the consciousness of his own capacity. For political or personal reasons he was unacceptable to the majority of the nobles; but the people honoured and loved him as no ruler in Scotland had been honoured or loved before. In the words of a contemporary chronicler "he was the defender of the widow and the fatherless[1]"; and a historian of the succeeding generation put his seal to this high eulogy. "A man truly good," says Spottiswoode, "and worthy to be ranked among the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of The Good Regent[2]."

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 156. [2] Spottiswoode, II. 121.

II. Regency of Lennox.

The loss of Moray was immediately and lamentably felt. Within three weeks of his death a Convention met in Edinburgh to arrange the future administration of the government. As, however, both the king's and the queen's parties were represented in this assembly, no combined action was possible; and its members could not even agree regarding the punishment of those concerned in the assassination of the late Regent. Its first duty should have been to appoint his successor; but, on the ground that the Convention was not sufficiently representative, the election was postponed till a new Convention should be called; and for five months the kingdom was to be without a recognised head. On this occasion the only important business transacted was the acquittal of Maitland from the charge of being privy to the murder of Darnley, and his liberation from his nominal ward in Edinburgh Castle[1]. 1570

It had tasked all the energies of Moray to maintain public order in the presence of the powerful party which demanded the restoration of the queen; and, now that he was removed, that party became more dangerous than ever. It was supported by the great majority of the nobility, and it possessed two of the ablest men in the country for its leaders—Maitland and John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the virtual head of his clan. The strength of the king's party lay in the Protestant clergy and the mass of the Commons; but its only capable chief was the Earl of Morton, formidable by his capacity and courage, but totally devoid of the moral qualities that inspire the confidence of a people. In the beginning of May the Marian lords took a decided step. At a great meeting of their supporters in Linlithgow they proclaimed Mary as their queen, and summoned all the lieges to hold themselves ready on pain of death to defend the cause against all her enemies. Their further plans, however, were rudely interrupted. On the night after the death of Moray, two notable Border lairds, Ferniherst and Buccleuch, in company with the exiled Westmorland, had burst into England and harried the lands of such as had remained loyal in the rebellion of the North. Elizabeth took a speedy and effective revenge. On the 17th of April the Earl of Sussex crossed the Border at the head of a

[1] Calderwood, II. 526—528; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 156—158.

strong force, ravaged Teviotdale and the Merse, and demolished the strongholds of Ferniherst and Buccleuch. But it was the Hamiltons, Elizabeth knew, who had been the promoters of all the mischief on the Borders, and it further excited her wrath that Westmorland and Lord Dacres were now taking a prominent part in the counsels of the Marian party at Linlithgow. She determined, therefore, that the Hamiltons also should feel the weight of her arm. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, Sir William Drury, Governor of Berwick, accompanied by the Earl of Lennox, and at the head of 1000 foot and 300 horse, marched towards Edinburgh, where he was awaited by the chiefs of the king's party—the Earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, and the Lords Ruthven, Lyndsay, Glamis, and Ochiltree. On the news of Drury's coming the queen's lords dispersed to their various homes, ignorant where he would strike. They were not left long in doubt. On the 16th of May, the English force, strengthened by that of Morton and his allies, took its march westwards, and within four days were back in Edinburgh, having utterly destroyed the palace, castle, and town of Hamilton[1].

1570 The party of the king was now in the ascendant, and they availed themselves of their temporary advantage. On the 16th of June Lennox was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and about a month later[2], with the consent of Elizabeth, he was promoted to the Regency. Personally Lennox was little fitted to govern a country in a state of revolution. His character was naturally weak; he was in his 55th year, then considered an advanced age, and in feeble health, but he was the grandfather of the king and by his own descent he stood close to the throne. Either he or his advisers, however, gave proof that they meant to act with vigour. It was the intention of the Marian lords to hold a rival Convention at Linlithgow on the 7th of August; but Lennox effectually prevented its assembly. In the north Morton inflicted a severe check on the Earl of Huntly. It had been reported that Huntly, supported by Lord Ogilvy and the Earl of Crawford, was about to make an attempt to seize the rich Abbey of Arbroath; but, by the capture of the town of Brechin, held by certain of Huntly's followers, Morton inflicted such a blow that they were forced to desist from their enterprise. In the same month of August the taking of the Castle of Doune on the banks

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 168—177; Calderwood, II. 544—565.

[2] Authorities differ as to the exact date when Lennox was appointed Regent.

of the Teith, and another raid of the Earl of Sussex on the lands of the Marian lords in Dumfries, brought further prestige to Lennox's rule[1].

Thus far things had gone so ill with the party of the queen that its leaders were driven to seek some way out of their distress. They appealed to Elizabeth to effect some arrangement by which Mary and her son might divide the government between them and thus bring peace to the unhappy kingdom. Triumphant as he now was, Lennox was loth to throw away his present advantage; but Elizabeth wished that an attempt at a compromise should be made, and he could not afford to defy her. Accordingly while the necessary negotiations proceeded, he agreed to an "Abstinence" of two months dating from the 3rd of September. Instead of two months, the negotiations were prolonged for nearly seven; and the result was as abortive as that of the famous commission which had been headed by Moray. Nominally the Abstinence had existed throughout the whole of that period, but in point of fact it was seriously regarded by neither party. In December, Kirkcaldy of Grange broke open the door of the Tolbooth prison in Edinburgh, and carried off a prisoner who had been placed there on a charge of manslaughter. In the game of retaliation, however, the king's party still maintained their advantage. In February, 1571, the Castle of Paisley was recovered from the Hamiltons, and on the 2nd of April that of Dunbarton was taken by one of the boldest feats of arms recorded in Scottish history[2].

1570

The hero of the enterprise was that Captain Thomas Crawford who had charged Lethington with being a party to the murder of Darnley. The castle had for the last four years been in the keeping of Lord Fleming, whose boast it was that in holding it he held "the fetters of Scotland." A treacherous sentry offered to show how the walls could be scaled and its defenders surprised. The offer was accepted, and at one o'clock in the morning Crawford began the ascent on the east side of the castle. The ladders proved to be too short; and Crawford and the sentry, who acted as his guide, had to climb from the highest step of the ladder to an ash tree some twenty feet up the rock. The ladders, having been pulled up to the tree, were again planted;

1571

Diurnal of Occurrents, 181; Calderwood, II. 568; III. 11; *History of James the Sext*, pp. 58 *et seq.*

[2] Spottiswoode, II. 133—136; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 194—200; Calderwood, III. 31, 32.

and under cover of a mist the whole party reached the summit of the wall. The surprise was complete, and in a few minutes the castle was in the hands of the assailants. An unexpected prize further rewarded the victors: among the captives was Archbishop Hamilton, who as the head and counsellor of his powerful family was the most formidable enemy of the king's party in the country. As the times were, his fate was not long in suspense. Within a week after his capture (April 7) he was put through the form of a trial on the charge of having been party to the murder of Darnley and Moray, and of having conspired to seize Lennox and the king. The same day saw his trial and his death. "As the bell struck six hours to even," he was hanged on a gibbet at the market-cross of Stirling—"the first bishop that suffered by form of justice in this kingdom[1]."

1571 With the collapse of the late negotiations and the return of Morton (April 19) from England, whither he had been sent as chief commissioner of the king's party[2], civil war began in earnest. Hitherto there had been occasional frays, but both parties now fully realised that the controversy between them could be settled by the sword alone. Owing to the relative position of the parties, it was the capital itself that was to be the battle-ground where the struggle was to be decided. The Castle of Edinburgh was the only strong place now held by the Marians; but the possession of the castle implied the command of the main part of the town. Supplied with money and ammunition from France, Kirkcaldy of Grange strengthened both the castle and the town with all the devices that his military experience could suggest. On the last day of April he issued a proclamation commanding all the inhabitants unfavourable to Mary to retire from the town. The majority of the citizens were on the side of the king, and many left the town and took up their residence in Leith—among those who withdrew, sorely against his will, being John Knox, who found a temporary home in St Andrews. By the beginning of May, Grange had made all his preparations for any attack on the part of his enemies; and his position was strengthened by the arrival of Châtelherault, his son, Lord Claud Hamilton, and the Earl of Argyle[3].

[1] Calderwood, III. 54—59; Bannatyne, *Memoriales*, 196; *Diurnal of Occurrents* 202—204; Spottiswoode, II. 155; Buchanan, 394.

[2] Morton had gone to England on February 4.

[3] Calderwood, III. 70—87; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 212—215.

Dunbarton Castle.

The first blood was drawn on Sunday, the 29th of April, when a fray occurred during the time of sermon. But it was with the coming of Lennox to Leith, which he was to 1571 make the basis of his operations, that the contest really began. By way of asserting his authority, Lennox determined to hold a Parliament in the capital; but at the present juncture this was a matter of some difficulty, as the usual place of meeting was within Grange's defences. On legal authority, however, Lennox was assured that, if it met within the municipal bounds, the conditions of the law would be fulfilled. On the 14th of May, therefore, the Parliament duly met in a private house in the Canongate, while the guns from the castle played all the time it sat. Having held his Parliament, the only business of which was to pronounce sentence of outlawry on certain of the queen's party, Lennox retired to Stirling, leaving the prosecution of the war in the hands of Morton[1].

Among the numberless skirmishes in this war between Leith and Edinburgh, as it was called, two were specially remembered by those who lived through the deplorable 1571 strife. On the 2nd of June, a band of horse and foot sallied from Edinburgh with the object of setting fire to Dalkeith, a dependency of Morton's. Espied on their approach, however, a body of Morton's men issued from the town and drove them back towards Edinburgh. It was an accident that happened during their retreat that made their expedition memorable. As their captain was opening a barrel of gunpowder, a lighted match dropped into the barrel, when two men were killed and sixteen rendered helpless. In as good array as they could, their companions held on their flight, pursued to the very precincts of the capital[2].

The other affair was of greater consequence, and was long remembered as "The Black Saturday." On Saturday, the 16th of June, Sir William Drury, who had come on the vain errand of effecting an understanding between the two factions, was to take his departure for England; and, by way of doing him honour, the queen's party issued in great strength from the town, and took up their position on the north-east side of the Calton Hill. Morton, we are told, had been ill of a colic, but on hearing of this display he led forth all the men at his disposal, and arrayed them half a mile to the north of the enemy. Drury persuaded the respective

[1] Calderwood, III. 17; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 215.
[2] This affair was known as the "Lunt [match] Fight.

leaders to abstain from fighting for one day, but the question arose which of the two parties should first retire. When the queen's men, however, were seen to produce two pieces of ordnance, Morton was no longer to be restrained, and he fiercely threw himself on the enemy. His victory was complete—the enemy being driven in confusion within the walls of the town, and sustaining a heavy loss both in captives and slain[1].

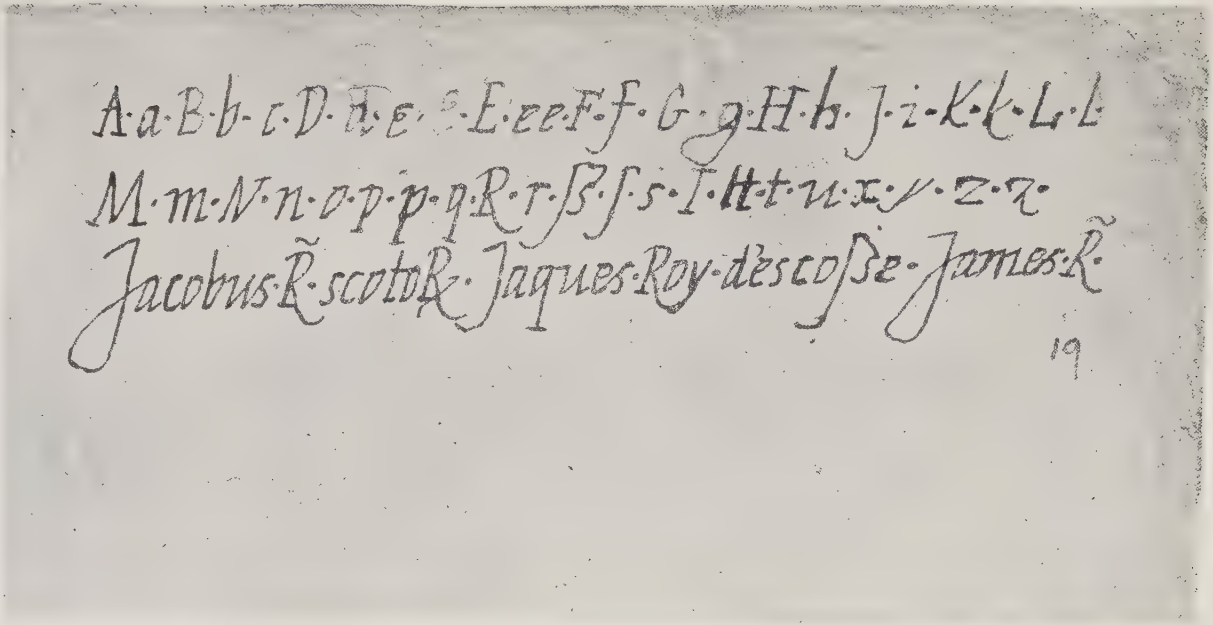
1571 The summer wore away in petty encounters which could lead to nothing so long as the castle was held for the queen. Equally futile were the rival assemblies in which each party denounced the other as rebels and outlaws. Yet it was one of these Conventions that was to be the occasion of an enterprise which might have changed the course of Scottish history. On the 28th of August Lennox held a Convention in Stirling, which bore a closer semblance to a Parliament than any assembly that had met for some time. In addition to the nobles who had hitherto followed him, he had lately been joined by the Earls of Argyle, Cassillis, Angus, Eglinton, and Lord Boyd. To give lustre and authority to the assembly, the king, now in his sixth year, was arrayed in royal robes, and conducted in state to the place of meeting—a sword, sceptre, and crown[2] being borne before him by Glencairn, Crawford, and Angus. Even a short speech was prepared for him, which he duly delivered. But of his own initiative the youthful sovereign uttered an oracular remark, which in view of the event that was to follow came to be deemed prophetic. Spying a gap in the roof of the chamber, he exclaimed: "There is a hole in this Parliament[3]!"

The enemy being thus in one place, it occurred to Grange, or Lethington, or both, that by one bold stroke the long contest might be ended. On the 3rd of September, at six o'clock in the evening, a body of horse and foot issued from Edinburgh under the command of Huntly and the stirring lairds of Ferniherst and Buccleuch. It had been given out that Jedburgh was their destination, but between three and four next morning they were in the streets of Stirling. So complete was the surprise that in a few minutes Lennox, Morton, Glencairn, and Ruthven were in the hands of the enterprising party. The fate of Scotland was

[1] Calderwood, III. 89; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 224; *History of James the Sext*, 80—83. This last authority gives June 26 as the date of "The Black Saturday."

[2] The regalia were in the Castle of Edinburgh.

[3] According to another account, it was a hole in the tablecloth that suggested James's remark. *History of James the Sext*, 88.



Writing Exercise by James VI.

Plate XV

in the balance. But while the victors gave themselves up to spoil, the Earl of Mar, at the head of a band of arquebusiers, descended from the castle, and the state of affairs was speedily reversed. The enemy were driven in confusion from the town, the captive lords rescued, and what had promised to be a brilliant feat of arms turned into a disastrous defeat. Lennox, however, did not share in the triumph of his friends. Before he could be rescued he received a pistol-shot of which he died in the course of the day. His regency had lasted less than fourteen months; yet in the long rivalry of his House with that of the Hamiltons he had triumphed, for he gave to Britain a line of kings[1].

III. Regency of Mar.

But for the conviction that the nation was with them the chiefs of the king's party could hardly have held together under these repeated disasters. Two Regents had now been cut off; the great majority of the nobles still maintained the cause of the queen; and Elizabeth still withheld such assistance as would have decided the struggle between the two parties. But the death of Lennox seemed only to stimulate the king's supporters to more resolute effort. The Parliament, which had been sitting at Stirling, at once proceeded to the election of Lennox's successor. From a "leet" of three—Argyle, Morton, and Mar—the last received the majority of votes. Mar was not remarkable for ability or vigour, but he bore a character for moderation and honest dealing which won him the respect of both the contending parties. 1571

The pressing duty for the new Regent, as it had been for his predecessor, was the recovery of the Castle of Edinburgh. Before the renewal of the contest a further appeal was addressed to the queen's lords, summoning them once more to surrender the castle and to acknowledge the king's authority. This appeal was followed up by strenuous preparations for the renewal of the siege. On the 4th of October Mar entered Leith with a force of 4000 men, and on the 8th he began to dig his trenches in the Canongate and at the West Port. Grange, it is to be remembered, was master both of the city and the castle. The first business of Mar, therefore, was to break 1571

[1] Calderwood, III. 136—141; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 242—249; *History of James the Sext*, 88—93; Spottiswoode, II. 163—166.

through the town wall which had been so hastily built by the citizens after Flodden. But with the men and the means at his disposal this proved to be a task beyond his strength. His trenches were commanded by Grange's ordnance in the churchyard of St Giles and the Kirk of Field, and shot was even sent through his own tent. Though he succeeded in breaking down forty feet of the south wall, it was repaired in the course of the following night. Within three weeks Mar discovered the futility of further effort, and on the 21st he retired to Leith[1].

1571 The fortunes of the king's party were not more prosperous in other parts of the country, and in the north especially they suffered a severe reverse. The king's deputy in these parts was the Master of Forbes, known as Black Arthur; and the chief enemy with whom he had to deal was Sir Adam Gordon of Auchindoune, who had for some time past been setting the king's authority at defiance. In two encounters between them Forbes was worsted—the last, which occurred at the Crabstane near Aberdeen, being specially decisive, Forbes himself being taken with 200 horsemen. A deed which followed was regarded as an unparalleled atrocity even in that time of blood. A band of the Gordons beset the Castle of Towie, then in the charge of its mistress during the absence of her husband. On her refusal to surrender fire was applied to the place, and every inmate destroyed[2]. As the result of these victories of the Gordons, the country to the north of the Forth was for some months at the discretion of the party of the queen[3].

1572 It was in the midst of this pitiful strife that Morton took a step that was to have momentous results for the future of Scotland. The crying need of the king's party was money, and Morton fell upon a scheme, which in part doubtless was prompted by his own rapacity, but which also had its roots in public policy. Much of the immense wealth of the ancient Church still remained in the hands of surviving ecclesiastics, but these men were gradually dying off; and the very practical question arose—into whose hands was their wealth to pass? The Protestant ministers loudly asserted that they were the rightful legatees of the Church which they had displaced. But to this

[1] Calderwood, III. 141—153; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 249, 50; Spottiswoode, II. 168, 9; *History of James the Sext*, 94.

[2] This atrocious deed is commemorated with some poetic licence in the pathetic ballad of Edom o' Gordon.

[3] *History of James the Sext*, 95—97; Spottiswoode, II. 169, 70.

demand Morton was strenuously opposed alike on public and private grounds. His own appetite for riches was unbounded, and from the mine before his eyes he was not the man to withhold his hand; but, as the course of his policy shows, he was also guided by higher motives than merely selfish ends. Like Maitland and Moray, he steadily looked to the eventual union of the Crowns of England and Scotland; and, as a necessary step towards this union, and a condition of its realisation, he regarded it as indispensable that the Churches of the two countries should be one in polity and doctrine. By word and deed, therefore, he impressed on the Protestant ministers that their assemblies were mere convocations of his Majesty's lieges, and that they must humbly accept whatever settlement the Crown might choose to arrange for them.

In the crisis through which the country was now passing, Morton found the opportunity of making a beginning of that policy towards the Church, which, continued by James VI and his successors, was for a full century to divide the country against itself. The ministers disliked Morton equally on the grounds of his profligacy and his simony; but for the moment he was their master, since the cause of the king was the cause of Protestantism, and without the support of Morton both causes were hopeless. At the instance of Morton a Convention of the Church was held in Leith on January 12, the chief business of which was to appoint a commission, consisting of six ministers and six Privy Councillors, to devise some arrangement for the peace and order of the spiritual estate. Within a week the commission produced the result of its deliberations, which received the approval of the Convention. They are summed up under seven heads, but here we are only concerned with the fact that the titles of archbishop, bishop, abbot, and prior were to be preserved—all of which, it is to be noted, had been abolished by the First Book of Discipline. The powers and privileges that were to go with these titles fell far short of what had gone with them in the ancient Church, but the mere existence of these dignities sufficed for Morton's purpose. He at once gave a practical illustration as to how he meant to utilise the new arrangement. On the death of Archbishop Hamilton he had received the benefice of St Andrews[1]; and no successor to Hamilton had yet been appointed. He had now the means, however, of putting a gloss on the scandal. He appointed an

[1] Calderwood, III. 68.

aged and infirm minister, named John Douglas, to perform the duties of the office, but kept in his own hands the main part of its income. To see his nominee inducted he crossed to St Andrews, and desired Knox to perform the ceremony; but Knox "in open audience of many [Morton among others] then present, denounced anathema to the giver, anathema to the receiver"; and the unscrupulous simonist had to find a more pliant instrument. Such was the origin of the pseudo-bishops, known as Tulchans[1], and the beginning likewise of that struggle between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which was to fill so large a space in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland[2].

1572 The struggle between the two parties in the State dragged on through the winter and spring, and with increasing ferocity in the adherents of both. His attempt at storming the capital having failed, Mar tried the effect of a blockade; but even an adequate blockade was beyond his powers. Yet he succeeded in making the besieged feel the discomfort of their position. He destroyed all the surrounding mills, he threatened with death all who should be found conveying provisions into the town, and he stopped the working of all the neighbouring coal-pits. The want of fuel drove Grange to an expedient which was remembered against him when the day of reckoning came. He dismantled the houses of the citizens who had left the town in the interest of the king, and sold the rafters for firewood in open market[3]. From the 16th of April till the 8th of June no quarter was given or taken by either side—the result, it was believed, of Morton's vindictive ferocity. It is to this period of the "Douglas Wars," as they were called from the merciless Morton, that Spottiswoode's description may be referred, though it is probably exaggerated even as regards this period. "You should have seen fathers against their sons, sons against their fathers, brother fighting against brother, nigh kinsmen and others allied together as enemies seeking one the destruction of the other. ...The very young ones scarce taught to speak had these words in their mouths, and were sometimes observed to divide and have childish conflicts in that quarrel[4]." Yet, in this dark time, and in

[1] "A Tulchan is a calve's skinne stuffed with straw to caus the kow give milk."—Calderwood, III. 207.

[2] Calderwood, III. 168—208; Spottiswoode, II. 170—172.

[3] The functionary who superintended the sale of the wood was known as "the Captain of the Chimneys."

[4] Spottiswoode, II. 158.

Edinburgh where the suffering was greatest, we are told by a contemporary that in May the inhabitants "used all pleasures which were wont to be used in the said month of May, viz. Robin Hood and Little John[1]."

The summer at length brought a cessation of hostilities. Through the good offices of England and France an Abstinence was accepted by both parties, which was 1572 to last for only two months from the 1st of August, but which was subsequently prolonged till the last day of December. This truce was a turning-point in the long conflict, involving as it did a decisive advantage for the party of the king. The queen's lords, Châtelherault, his son Lord Claud Hamilton, Huntly, and Seton, with their respective followings, immediately left the capital, which was at once occupied by Mar and his supporters. The exiled citizens, who had settled in Leith and elsewhere, returned to their homes, and among them John Knox, who was soon to find a theme with which to rouse his countrymen to a last effort in the cause of Protestantism. On the 24th of August occurred the bloodiest crime of the century—the Massacre of St Bartholomew. In Scotland the tidings of the crime were received with mingled terror and indignation, and Knox with his dying voice drove home the terrible lesson to the hearts of his countrymen. Mainly through his efforts, a Convention met in Edinburgh on the 20th of October, which resolved that a defensive alliance should be sought with all Protestant countries "to be ready at all occasions for resisting" the action of Rome[2]. The crime of St Bartholomew cut off all hope for Mary Stewart in Scotland; it consolidated the ranks of her enemies, and it decided the wavering to have done with a cause which was opposed to the wishes of the majority of the nation[3].

In the month of October[4] the Regent Mar died—"the maist cause" of his death being "that he loved peace and could not have it." On the 24th of the same month 1572 John Knox also passed away—his last public counsel being a warning message to Kirkcaldy of Grange that he should return to the way he had abandoned and surrender the castle. He had lived to see the triumph of the cause to which he had given himself with such incomparable devotion and power: on the day of his

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 263.

[2] Calderwood, III. 215; Spottiswoode, II. 174; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 257—307.

[3] Calderwood, III. 215—230; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 307—316; Spottiswoode, II. 176—179.

[4] Authorities differ as to the precise date.

death Morton was proclaimed Regent, and with Morton Protestantism at least was safe. Yet, when Morton pronounced the memorable eulogy at the great preacher's grave, "Here lies one who neither flattered nor feared any flesh," his respect was doubtless mingled with a sense of relief that the formidable monitor would no longer meet him in the way[1].

IV. Regency of Morton.

On the 1st of January, in a spirit of ill-timed bravado, Grange fired a shot from the castle as an intimation that the
1573 Abstinence was at an end, and that he and his allies did not shrink from a renewal of the contest. But the toils were fast closing round him. The town was now in the possession of the enemy, the castle could easily be blockaded, and the only important person now at his side was Maitland of Lethington. A Convention held in Edinburgh on the 16th of January showed, by the number of lords who were present, that the king's party was now the real power in the country; and on the 3rd of the following month a transaction took place which sealed the fate of the castle. At Perth on that day, Huntly and Lord George Hamilton, as representing their respective kin, met certain of the king's lords, and signed a pacification, by which they agreed to recognise the authority of the king and of Morton as his Regent. Though his position was now desperate, Grange still refused to surrender, and in an unhappy hour for himself he was guilty of a "causeless cruelty," which alienated his friends and exasperated his enemies. On a night in February, a band of his soldiery issued from the castle, and set fire to certain thatched houses. He had chosen the opportunity of a tempest of wind for his exploit; and the flames spread with alarming rapidity. To add to the wantonness of the act his cannon played on those who attempted to stay the progress of the fire, which was left to run its disastrous course[2].

It was the last notable action performed by Grange. Morton, in his own strength, had done what he could to bring
1573 him to terms. He threw three earthen ramparts across the street leading from the castle, he poisoned St Margaret's well, which had afforded the main supply of water to its inmates, and he cut off all possibility of external communication. Without the

[1] Calderwood, III. 230—242.

[2] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 323; Calderwood, III. 242—261.

Regent Morton.

means of conducting a siege, however, he could hope to reduce the place only by the slow process of famine. But he at length received that aid for which he had been looking from the beginning of the contest. Elizabeth had at last decided that it was in the interest of England that James and not Mary should reign in Scotland. By the end of April Sir William Drury was in Edinburgh in command of a force equipped with all the necessaries for an effectual siege. In the face of a heavy fire from the castle, batteries were erected in front of its main entrance, on the ground where Heriot's hospital now stands, on the further bank of the Nor Loch, and on a spur of the Calton Hill, known as the Dhu Craig. Buoyed up by the hope that a French fleet would yet appear in the Firth of Forth, Grange still continued stubborn, and hung out a red banner "denouncing war and defiance," from St David's tower, the highest point in the castle. The assault began on the 21st of May, and, when for the first time the terrors of a siege were realised, the shrieks of the women rose from the doomed stronghold. The batteries told with deadly effect: St David's tower fell, the Wallace tower followed, and before many days the prediction of Knox was fulfilled that the castle walls would run down "like a sandy brae." The position of the besieged was now desperate: the wells within the castle were choked, provisions failed, and mutiny at length drove Grange to sue for terms. From Morton he knew that he had no mercy to expect, but from Drury he might look for more consideration. On the 28th a parley was demanded and granted, when Grange and two others were lowered from the castle, and held an interview with the English leader. Grange demanded that he and all the besieged might be allowed to depart with the honours of war. Drury would not act except along with Morton; and Morton's reply was that all would be allowed to go free save Maitland, Grange, and six other persons. Informed of these terms, the soldiers refused to continue the struggle; and by sunset the castle was in the hands of Morton, and the cause of Mary Stewart was lost for ever in Scotland.

The fate of Grange and Maitland could not be doubtful. They above all others had been responsible for the late bloodshed and suffering; and people and ministers alike clamoured for their death. Both made pitiful appeals to Elizabeth to intervene in their favour, but she waived all responsibility, and left them at the discretion of Morton. Maitland

1573

escaped the ignominy of a traitor's death. He died on the 9th of July—by his own hand, it was rumoured, though the state of his health made a natural cause probable. Among all the public men of Scotland his is the most singular figure; and it was with mingled fear and wonder that his countrymen had regarded his tortuous career and his strange ascendency over his fellows. On the 3rd of August Grange was publicly executed in Edinburgh, lamenting with his latest breath that he had neglected the dying counsel of Knox. Before his desertion of the king's cause he had been regarded with affection and esteem by all sections of his countrymen, and even his enemies never ceased to bewail his apostasy. He was Scotland's most gallant and chivalrous soldier, yet an evil fate had decreed that the first and last of his public actions should leave deep stains on his scutcheon. He began his career by a cruel deed of violence, and he ended it by playing false to a friend and confederate who had placed in him as great a trust as one man can place in another[1].

Morton, as vicegerent of the king, was now master of the country. From foreign enemies he had nothing to fear, as neither England nor France was henceforward to menace Scottish independence; nor during the first years of his government had he any formidable rivals at home. The leaders who had taken part in the Reformation struggle had almost all gone. Moray, Maitland, and Knox were dead; Argyle was soon to follow, and Châtelherault was no longer heard of. To the vigour and ability of Morton's rule even his enemies bore witness; and the best proof of its success is that during the whole tenure of his office there is hardly an important event to chronicle.

1573

The first duty to which he was called was the restoration of law on the Borders, which during the late commotions had partially forgotten the visitations of Moray. Proceeding to Jedburgh at the head of a host more than 4000 strong, he met with Sir John Forster, the English Warden, when he took such order that law was effectually restored for the time. Two other proceedings of the same year proved at once the vigour of Morton's rule and his disregard of popular feeling. During the late civil war, as has been seen, a considerable number of the citizens of Edinburgh had taken part with the queen's lords and

1573

[1] *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 328—335; Calderwood, III. 281—287; Spottiswoode, II. 190—194; *History of James the Sext*, 140—145.

supported them both with their swords and their goods. As in most of Morton's public actions, he contrived to combine justice with his own interest. On the double ground of being proved traitors and having despoiled their loyal fellow-citizens who had quitted the town, they were forced to pay heavy fines in proportion to their means—the bulk of which, however, found its way into his own private purse. As a further penalty, the unfortunate citizens had to exhibit themselves at church, clad in black gowns, which, after they had done this service, were decreed to the poor of the town.

The other proceeding was on a larger scale and excited still stronger feeling against the Regent. By the arrangement made in 1561 one-third of the property of the ancient Church was to be equally divided between the Crown and the Protestant ministers. From the beginning, however, the ministers had profited little by that settlement; and during the Douglas wars their position had become desperate. Not a penny of their stipends was forthcoming; they subsisted only by borrowing and charity; and some of them, it was said, had died in the streets of hunger and cold. To remedy the evil Morton hit on a notable remedy: to ensure the gathering in of the thirds he had himself constituted their collector. The unfortunate clergy had little reason to rejoice in the new arrangement. In this case, also, Morton contrived to veil his rapacity under the guise of law and justice. After retaining the proportion of the third that was due to the Crown he professed that the remainder was inadequate to maintain a minister for every church, and to meet the exigencies of the case he devised an ingenious expedient. He appointed one minister to do the work of two, three, or four, as the case might be; and even this overtasked official had little certainty that his stipend would eventually be paid[1].

The year 1575 was a memorable one, not only in the government of Morton, but for the whole future of the country. It saw the last notable encounter between English and Scots on the Borders, the beginning of a new policy in these districts, and a turning-point in the ecclesiastical development of Scotland.

In the summer of this year (July 7), the English Warden, Sir John Forster, met the Scottish Warden, Sir John Carmichael, on one of those monthly days of truce, appointed for the settling of disputes which had arisen during the 1575

[1] Spottiswoode, II. 194—196; *History of James the Sext*, 146—148.

interval. The place of meeting on this occasion was the Reidswire, the pass leading into Redesdale from the northern slopes of the Carter Fell, in the range of the Cheviots. Everything passed off well till near the close of the conference, when Carmichael demanded that a certain Englishman should be placed in his hands till he made restitution to a Scot whom he had injured. Forster refused; high words arose; and a fray began by a flight of arrows from the English bowmen. The Scots being outnumbered were forced to give ground, but being joined by a detachment from Jedburgh they renewed the fight with such effect that they drove the enemy across the march, slew many, and took captive several of the English leaders. Though the victory was flattering to Scottish pride, it placed Morton in an embarrassing position with Elizabeth, whose favour it was always his object to cultivate. By his dexterous dealing, however, he contrived to make the untoward event the means of drawing closer the bonds between himself and the English queen[1].

The affair of the Reidswire doubtless quickened the energetic action which Morton now took with regard to the whole government of the Scottish Border. The policy he adopted implied the extermination or exile of every Borderer who was not content to be a law-abiding subject. The means he took to effect these ends were those subsequently followed by James VI and his successors. The difficulty of dealing with the Borderers had been that when they took refuge in their swires or passes they could safely defy the terrors of the law. By the systematic exaction of hostages, however, and the imposition of heavy fines, Morton put a bridle on the Border chieftains against which they chafed in vain. Experience had also shown that intermittent expeditions, even when as formidable as those of the Regent Moray, were insufficient to establish lasting order in the unruly districts. With the consent of the Privy Council, therefore, Morton established a standing force which should be kept together as long as it was necessary and be maintained by the contributions of the tax-paying subjects of the realm[2].

"In the Church this year [1575]," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, "began the innovations to break forth that to this day

[1] Calderwood, III. 347; *History of James the Sext*, 146; Spottiswoode, II. 198; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 348, 9. This fray is celebrated in the Ballad of *The Raid of the Reidswire*.

[2] *Privy Council Register*, II. pp. ix. *et seq.*

have kept it in a continual unquietness[1]." Since the Convention at Leith in 1572, when a pseudo-Episcopacy received the sanction of the State, the ministers had displayed a growing discontent with the results of that settlement. It had made their incomes neither more secure nor more liberal, and above all it was surely tending towards the subordination of the Church to the State. As it happened, they now found a leader who by his vigour and ability was to prove no unworthy successor of Knox. This was the famous Andrew Melville, who in various continental schools had acquired all the learning of the time, and had returned to Scotland in 1574 with a prestige that at once gave him a commanding position in the Church. In a General Assembly held in August, 1575, chiefly through the action of Melville, the question whether Episcopacy has the authority of Scripture was raised and discussed. The decision was postponed till a future meeting; but the controversy had begun which was to divide Protestantism in Scotland, and was to be the main preoccupation of the country for more than a century to come[2].

The government of Morton had been unpopular from the beginning; and, as the years proceeded, there was not a class in the country which had not its special grievance against him. The people bitterly complained at his excessive exactions, and the ministers detested him alike for his preference for Episcopacy and his niggardly and contemptuous dealings with themselves. To the majority of the nobles he was equally distasteful. He suffered none of them to be rapacious but himself, and he sternly restrained them within the limits of the law. Two of them—the Earl of Athole, and Colin, 6th Earl of Argyle, brother of the confederate of Moray—were the chief instruments of his fall. In the course of a clan dispute, these nobles had threatened the peace of the country; and Morton prepared to deal with his usual vigour in the case of both. Having learned his intention the two patched up their quarrel, and concerted a course of action that should put it out of his power to do them harm. As it happened, the young king was in the hands of those who detested Morton, and were eager for his dismissal from power. James was not yet thirteen and could only be a tool of those who had charge of him. Two men, his custodian, Alexander Erskine, and his teacher, George Buchanan, are named as his chief prompters

1578

[1] Spottiswoode, II. 200.

[2] Calderwood, III. 347—355; Spottiswoode, II. 200, 201.

in the action that was now taken. Against the formidable array of his enemies Morton found that resistance was vain, and he took the most dignified course that was open to him: he sent in his resignation to the king. The offer was promptly accepted, and on the 12th of March, 1578, proclamation was made at Edinburgh that Morton was no longer Regent[1].

According to a contemporary, Morton "had bent his mind upon two purposes: the one was to administer justice to all men, and to punish the trespasser rather by his goods than by death; the other was to heap up a great treasure, however it might be obtained." His rule had covered one of the most calamitous periods of the national history, yet we have conclusive testimony that neither civil war nor private feuds had checked the general development of the country. Killigrew, the English agent, twice visited Scotland during the regency of Morton—in November, 1572, and in June, 1574. At the time of his first visit the Castle of Edinburgh had not yet surrendered, and the king's and queen's parties still divided the country; yet even in these circumstances he was struck by the indications of a prosperous and energetic people. On his second visit these signs of prosperity were still more manifest: the people, he says, had forgotten their late miseries, they had become "lusty and independent," and boasted that their friendship had been courted by so many foreign countries.

Of legislation during the period there is nothing important to relate. We have the records of four Parliaments or Conventions that met during Morton's regency; but their Acts, like those of the Privy Council during the same period, were chiefly confined to questions bearing directly on the strife between the two parties that had distracted the kingdom. The main interest of Morton's regency lies in the fact that it closes one period of Scottish history and opens another. The Protestant revolution was now an accomplished fact, and the country had entered on a new phase of the national development. The struggle that was in the future lay between the Crown on the one hand, and the Kirk supported by the majority of the people on the other; and it was to be a struggle more protracted, more bitter, and attended by greater public calamities than even that which had involved the fall of the ancient national Church.

[1] Spottiswoode, II. 205—208; Calderwood, III. 418—426; Sir James Melville, *Memoirs*.

BOOK VI.

The Crown and the Kirk.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES VI (*continued*), 1578—1603.

English Sovereign.	French Kings.	Spanish Kings.
Elizabeth, 1558—1603	Charles IX, 1560—1574	Philip II, 1556—1598
	Henry III, 1574—1589	Philip III, 1598—1621
	Henry IV, 1589—1610	

I. Recovered Ascendency of Morton.

The actual reign of James VI in Scotland (1578—1603) is one of the most critical periods in the national history. At no previous time—not even during the reign of Mary Stewart—had the country been so alive to its own destinies, and possessed with such a haunting dread lest it should be prevented from fulfilling them. With little exaggeration it might be said that these twenty-five years were an actual reign of terror for that majority of the nation which had cast off Rome and thrown in its lot with Protestantism. The cause of this terror was two-fold—a threatened danger alike from without and within. It was during these last years of the 16th century that the decisive struggle between the two religions was fought and decided; and in this struggle it was once more the fate of Scotland to be the common field of action between the contending parties. Immediately after James's assumption of the government, Philip II, the champion of Catholicism, at length found himself in a position to strike that blow at England which should restore the unity of Christendom. By his ascendency in the counsels of France, due to the religious and dynastic wars in that country, and by the extension of his dominion

through the acquisition of Portugal (1580) he became the master of resources before which, as it seemed, England must inevitably succumb and Protestantism along with her. As in the reign of Mary Stewart, England was most vulnerable on the side of Scotland; and, to prepare the ground for his great enterprise, Philip, by spies and bribes and plots, sought to gain to his interest all that in Scotland was discontented with the Protestant settlement. The Spanish Armada failed; by the accession of Henry IV Philip lost his hold of France; the Low Countries succeeded in casting off his authority; and the decay of Spain began even under his own eyes. Yet, down to the close of the century, his power and his ambition were a source of alarm to every Protestant power. Through all the years covered by James's reign in Scotland there was a sleepless dread on the part of the Protestant section of the nation lest Spanish arms and Spanish policy should yet undo the work which had been achieved at such a cost of confusion and strife.

This dread of a foreign enemy was intensified by the state of things at home. So formidable was the party of the old religion that a handful of invaders would have turned the scale in their favour. Till past the year 1590, one-third of the Scottish nobility were Roman Catholic, as were the majority of the people in the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, Aberdeen, Moray, in Nithsdale and Wigtown. What made this state of things the more alarming was the equivocal policy of the king himself. As soon as he came to the years of discretion, the absorbing aim of James was to be the successor of Elizabeth on the throne of England. His policy plainly showed that, whichever religion could assure him of this result, to that he was willing to give his adhesion. James, said a Catholic spy who had been a busy agent in Scotland, would have taken the English Crown from the hand of the devil himself.

This two-fold dread, at once of a foreign and a domestic foe, bore notable results in the development of the country. To this fever of apprehension was largely due that extreme assertion of ecclesiastical authority which characterised the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in Scotland. As will be seen, the function that came to be discharged by the new clergy was at once that of the modern press and a House of Commons. To avert the danger that threatened their religion, they were driven by the policy of James to assert a power in the State, of which the

crisis through which the country was passing is the explanation and justification. With the history of the time before us, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, if Protestantism was to be saved in Scotland, it was only the revolutionary fervour of men like Andrew Melville that could have saved it. On the other hand, the extreme claims of the ministers begot a corresponding strength of antagonism in those who were opposed to them. By his own instincts and the counsels of his earliest advisers, James was disposed from the beginning to that ideal of kingly authority to which he eventually gave such signal effect and which he bequeathed as a disastrous heritage to his immediate successors. But these tendencies of James received their strongest propulsion from his very subjects who were most opposed to them. The absolutism of James was forced upon him in large degree by the excessive claims of the Presbyterian clergy. From the antagonism which thus arose between James and the main body of his people—an antagonism that rendered a settled government impossible—were to follow with inevitable sequence all the memorable events of the succeeding century—the long religious struggle in Scotland, the Civil War and Revolution in England, and the final casting forth of the House of Stewart by the deliberate action of the two kingdoms[1].

Morton's resignation of the regency was proclaimed on the 12th of March, 1578; and those who had displaced him at once took steps to secure their victory. A new Council was formed, the membership of which, however, did not recommend it to the strong Protestant feeling of the country. Chief among the new Councillors were the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, Glencairn, Athole, Eglinton, and Caithness, the last three of whom were known to be favourable to the old religion. Its first act was an open bid for popular support. As the country had been suffering from a severe dearth, it was ordained that all grain should be threshed by the 10th of June, and that none of the lieges should hold back more victual than would serve his family for the space of three months. Stirling had been the head- 1578

[1] The two chief authorities for the reign of James VI are Calderwood (1575—1650) and Archbishop Spottiswoode (1565—1639)—the one representing the Presbyterian, the other the Episcopalian point of view. The successive volumes of the *Privy Council Register*, enriched by Professor Masson's invaluable Introductions, have thrown much fresh light on the personal character and domestic policy of James. Regarding his foreign negotiations and intrigues startling revelations are to be found in the two volumes of *Spanish State Papers* (1580—1603), edited by Major Martin Hume.

quarters of Morton's enemies, but after some delay the Castle of Edinburgh, Holyrood Palace, and the Mint likewise fell into their hands (April 1).

The relaxation from the stern rule of Morton had made itself speedily felt. On the 17th of March there had been a bloody encounter in Stirling, such as would have been visited by Morton with the severest measure of justice. The followers of the Earl of Crawford and the Lord Chancellor Glamis (enemies of long standing) met in one of the narrow wynds of that town; and in the fray that followed the Chancellor received a pistol-shot through the head. Men began to realise that great as were the deposed Regent's faults, the country had perhaps fallen into worse hands than his. Morton himself, moreover, was not slow to see that, with such an array of enemies in power, it was not likely that he would be allowed to live and die in peace when so many old scores had to be settled. His measures were soon taken, and he acted with his wonted vigour and decision. In the Earl of Mar, a youth of sixteen, he found a convenient instrument of his purposes. The king was in Stirling in the keeping of Mar's uncle, Alexander Erskine, who had been one of the chief agents in effecting Morton's overthrow; but the young Earl now claimed his hereditary post of guardian of the royal person. On the morning of the 26th of April he ejected his uncle and his following from the castle, and awaited the events that had been arranged to follow. Morton, in his dying confession, denied that Mar had acted at his prompting: he at least drew his own profit from the opportunity now offered to him. Emerging from his "Lion's Den," as his place of retirement was significantly called, he appeared at Stirling on the 24th of May, and with a band of supporters took up his abode in the castle[1].

1578

With the king in his power Morton was thus once more at the centre of authority, and the course of events now showed that he was again the most formidable person in the country. Under the king's seal the nobility were summoned to meet at Stirling on the 10th of June to deliberate on the changed situation. With their respective followings, all in arms, the friends and foes of Morton appeared on the appointed day; and it was only their equal strength that prevented them from deciding their quarrel by the sword. Safe in the possession of the king and the castle, however, the advantage lay with Morton, and he was able

1578

[1] Calderwood, III. 395—409; Spottiswoode, II. 219—223.

to gain two points which placed the executive in his hands: the Privy Council was to be reconstructed, and the next Parliament was to be held at Stirling instead of in Edinburgh, where it had been originally ordered to meet, and where for excellent reasons Morton was held in special detestation. But the opposing faction was numerous and powerful, and had for its leaders the chief of the nobility—Athole (who had succeeded Glamis as Chancellor), Argyle and Montrose, and the Lords Lindsay, Maxwell, Ogilvie and Herries. From Edinburgh as their stronghold these lords denounced the late proceedings of Morton, and in a set proclamation declared that they would take no part in a Parliament while their king was held in durance and when everything was ruled at the dictation of his gaoler. As neither party would give way, both were prepared to try the issue in the field; and each in the name of the king ordered a muster of the lieges on the 10th of March in the immediate neighbourhood of Stirling. On the 12th of March the two forces came face to face between Falkirk and Stirling; and the country was on the brink of another civil war. So equally matched were the opposing armies, however, that neither side could confidently reckon on a decisive victory; and both probably welcomed an attempt that was now made to reconcile their differences. Through the good offices of two leading ministers, James Lawson and David Lindsay, and the English ambassador, Bowes, a compromise was effected which in reality left Morton the master of the situation. Mar, the tool of Morton, was continued in his charge of the king; Montrose and Lindsay were to be admitted to the Privy Council; and four persons were to be chosen from either party, who should seek to compose all quarrels before the 1st of May in the following year. "No stir in our memory," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, "was more happily pacified[1]."

But, in spite of their compromise, the two parties were as far off as ever from harmonious action. In accordance with the late arrangement, James, or rather Morton who directed him, desired the party of Athole to choose their four Commissioners and to arrange for their meeting at Stirling on the 20th of September. The reply amounted to a defiance. They would not come to Stirling, they said, and the 20th of September was too early a date for the Commissioners to meet. On three conditions, however, they were willing to take action: if the place

1578–9

[1] Calderwood, III. 410—426; Spottiswoode, II. 223—229; *The Correspondence of Robert Bowes* (Surtees Society), pp. 6—8.

of meeting were Edinburgh, if they were permitted to select four Commissioners out of ten nominated by themselves[1], and, finally, if they were allowed to send an agent to England as a representative of their interests. No attention was paid to these demands; and on the 20th of October Athole, Argyle, and most of their chief supporters appeared at Stirling and stated their grievances. But, as things now stood, their party was no longer what it had been; and they were forced to accept such terms as Morton was pleased to offer. A few months later (April, 1579) an opportune event rid Morton of his most formidable enemy. Immediately after a banquet at Morton's own table in Stirling, the Chancellor Athole died of an illness which rumour did not fail to attribute to foul play[2].

1579 A notable action of Morton signally proved his recovered ascendency in the country—the temporary ruin of the great House of Hamilton. Of the members of the family who had figured in the reign of Mary, the Duke of Châtelherault was dead, and his son, the Earl of Arran, was incurably insane; and their house was now represented by two younger brothers, Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, and Lord Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley. There were various reasons why Morton should desire the destruction of the family. They were dangerous by the greatness of their power and possessions; they were obnoxious to Elizabeth, whom it was his special interest to conciliate; and their estates might enrich both himself and those by whose support he maintained his authority. A sufficient pretext for proceeding against them was ready to hand. In the Pacification of Perth (February, 1573), to which the Hamiltons had been parties, it had been expressly stated that in the case of the two brothers only the general pardon applied. A special charge hung over their heads which the Pacification did not cover—the charge of having been parties to the death of the regents Moray and Lennox. On the ground that the king was now governing in his own person, the Privy Council decreed (April 30) that action should be taken to carry out the law against the accused brothers. By the end of May the ruin of their House was complete—their castles seized, their estates forfeited, and Lord John and Lord Claud fugitives respectively in England and France[3].

[1] The ten having been approved by Morton.
[2] Calderwood, III. 442; Spottiswoode, II. 263.
[3] *Privy Council Register*, III. 115 *et seq.*

But this triumph was destined to be of short duration. In the autumn (Sept. 8th) of 1579, a personage arrived in Scotland, who was to be the evil genius of Morton, and who, during the few years he was to spend in the country, was to play a part which gives him a place among the remarkable figures in the national history[1]. This was Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny in Berri, son of John Stewart, and nephew of the regent Lennox, the king's grandfather. By his character and the special mission on which he came, D'Aubigny exerted an influence both on James and on Scotland which was to have important results for the general history of Great Britain. As he is described by a contemporary diarist, "He was a man of comely proportion, civil behaviour, red-bearded, honest in conversation[2]." Of middle age and graced with all the accomplishments of the Court of France, he at once gained an ascendency over his youthful kinsman which grew with every year of his sojourn. On James, both as a man and as a king, his influence was of equally evil effect. D'Aubigny came from the Court of Henry III, the most depraved of all the Valois, and he and his train together made James as precocious in vice as he was in intelligence and attainments. Beyond all his predecessors Henry III was seeking to be an absolute king; and D'Aubigny had little difficulty in convincing James how excellent an example this was to follow. But D'Aubigny came on a more specific mission than merely to advance his own fortunes by debauching the mind of James. He came, as we shall see, as the express emissary of the Guises to work by all the means in his power for the restoration of Mary Stewart and of the ancient religion[3]. 1579

II. Ascendency of Lennox.

For the next three years the interest of Scottish history mainly centres in D'Aubigny. He had come at an opportune moment. Morton regarded him at first with suspicion and afterwards with detestation, but Morton had many enemies who gladly welcomed his formidable rival; and by the liberal distribution of French gold D'Aubigny speedily secured a powerful 1580

[1] He came by James's own invitation.—Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Catholics*, pp. 134—140.

[2] Moysie's *Memoirs* (Maitland Club), p. 25.

[3] Calderwood, III. 456; Spottiswoode, II. 266.—D'Aubigny spoke no language but French.—*Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen* (Nutt, 1882), p. 117.

following. But the strength of his position lay in his ascendency over the king, whose good will towards his kinsman apparently knew no bounds. Within a year after his coming, D'Aubigny received the rich abbacy of Arbroath, the Earldom of Lennox, and the custodianship of Dunbarton Castle, "the fetters of Scotland," as one of its keepers had called it. But Lennox, as he is now to be styled, had to reckon with two hostile forces, which eventually proved too strong for him, and which were to ruin himself and bring to naught all his schemes. The one was the Scottish Reformed Clergy and the other the Queen of England.

1580 For more than two centuries the Kings of Scotland had to fight for their prerogatives against a turbulent nobility: they had now to face another power equally formidable and equally persistent, and which in the end was to triumph over them in the long struggle. The new enemy was the Scottish nation itself, led and directed by their spiritual teachers. Unlike the old Church, the Protestant ministers refused to take a direct part in the deliberations of the Estates; but this was from no conviction that secular affairs were not their concern. In point of fact, throughout the period with which we are dealing, they exercised an influence in public affairs as great as had ever been exercised by the Church of Rome. They exerted their influence through those General Assemblies which, in far greater degree than the Estates, expressed the mind and will of the most strenuous section of the people. There were many reasons for the extraordinary authority that came to be wielded by these Assemblies of the Church. Laymen of all ranks sat in them and in greater numbers than the ministers themselves: in the first General Assembly, that of 1560, out of 41 members 35 were laymen. They met several times a year and always on the same occasion as the Conventions of the Estates, the Acts of which they freely criticised, frequently making suggestions which were but veiled commands. By two privileges of their order, also, the ministers were enabled to enforce their desires with convincing effect: they possessed the power of excommunication, which was dreaded by the greatest nobles in the country, and from their pulpits they had the opportunity of reminding their congregations of their duties as citizens as well as Christians.

1580 It was with this formidable body that Lennox had to reckon in the furtherance of the ends for which he had come. What these ends were the ministers were not slow to

discover. Where we now have full knowledge, they could only suspect; but they knew enough to be aware that if the fascinating stranger had his way, their religion and all they had most at heart would not long have a place in Scotland. So freely did they express their opinions both as to his religion and his influence over the king that he speedily found it necessary to come to an understanding with them. There was but one way of laying their suspicions asleep—to abjure the faith in which he had been reared, and to let the world know that he had done so. He played the part of the penitent convert with much thoroughness. He openly declared his "calling" in the church of St Giles, he wrote a public letter to the General Assembly offering to perform any duty it might prescribe, and finally requested that a minister might be placed in his house to devote himself wholly to his spiritual needs. His professions were taken for what they were worth, and it was with ever-growing suspicion and dread that the ministers followed the gradual development of his schemes[1].

The ascendency of Lennox in the councils of James was hardly less dreaded by Elizabeth than by the Scottish clergy. If Lennox should prevail in Scotland, there would be an open door for any enemy who might choose to enter England. To counteract Lennox, therefore, she sent down Robert Bowes as her open representative, and as a secret agent, Captain Errington, both of whom set themselves industriously to work in the interest of England. A rumoured plot of Lennox threatened to bring the worst to pass. This plot was to decoy James to Dunbarton Castle and thence to ship him to France, where a French marriage and a French education should repeat the history of his mother. As a counterplot, Elizabeth conceived the scheme of cutting off Lennox or conveying James to England. There was but one man in Scotland who could successfully carry out this scheme—her faithful ally, the Earl of Morton. But Morton's power was no longer what it had been in the country. Lennox had displaced him at the Court, and, on the other hand, he had not the support of the ministers, who should have now been his natural allies. On one condition only he agreed to undertake the work which Elizabeth suggested to him—that she should support his action with an adequate armed force from England. After long delay she committed herself to this condition, though with no intention of fulfilling it; and in an evil day for himself, Morton undertook to

1580

[1] Calderwood, III. 468, 477.

carry out his part in the compact. His treasonable dealings came to the knowledge of Lennox, who straightway had him at his mercy. Lennox's fortunes were now higher than ever. Dunbarton Castle had been placed in his keeping, and that of Edinburgh was now in the hands of one of his creatures. In September a new office was created for him, which made him virtually supreme at the Court. The office was that of High Chamberlain and First Gentleman of the Chamber; and there went with it the command of thirty gentlemen, all devoted to himself, who were to form a standing guard of the king's person. Among these gentlemen was one, who, first as the tool of Lennox and afterwards as his rival and successor in James's favour, was to play a part as mischievous as his own. This was Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, second son of Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of John Knox. He had received a learned education, had served as a soldier of fortune in Sweden, and was in all respects a person fitted for desperate courses. Of "princely presence," he possessed an audacity and a fertility of device which admirably complemented the smoother methods of the plausible Lennox. It was with the aid of this man that Lennox now set himself to work the ruin of Morton[1].

1580 On the last day of December, 1580, Captain Stewart appeared before the Privy Council, then sitting in Holyrood Palace, and throwing himself on his knees before the king, charged Morton to his face with foreknowledge of the murder of Darnley. Morton haughtily replied that he was ready to answer the charge before any Court his Majesty might appoint. That night and the next day, Morton was warded in his own apartment; on the 2nd of January he was lodged in Edinburgh Castle, and on the 18th he was conveyed to the still safer hold of Dunbarton. It was a dangerous game that Lennox and Stewart were playing, as they were soon made aware. The Earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, gathered a force of 2000 men, and it was only at the special request of Morton that he abstained from attempting his rescue. The ministers, also, now remembered that Morton had after all been one of the chief instruments in securing the establishment of their religion, and freely denounced the doings of James and his advisers. Rumours of Jesuit priests moving about the country filled them with a vague alarm, which was

[1] Bowes, pp. 22 *et seq.*; Spottiswoode, II. 268; *Register of Privy Council*, Vol. III. pp. 316—323.

partially allayed by an audacious step, doubtless prompted by Lennox himself. A new confession of faith, known as the "Negative Confession," and to become famous at a later day, was ordered to be drawn up (1581); and the king and the courtiers set the example of publicly subscribing it.

But the quarter from which Lennox had most to fear was England, since the fall of Morton must mean the triumph in Scotland of all that Elizabeth dreaded[1]. Elizabeth 1580 was furious at the proceedings of the Scottish Court; she sent down Randolph to threaten or flatter James out of his present policy, and she gave orders that an English force should be ready to enter Scotland if her demands were rejected. As her past relations to Scotland had shown, however, it was improbable that she would carry out her threats; and Lennox steadily went on his way. Under the pretext of quieting the Borders, but really of providing for eventualities against England, all the lieges between sixteen and sixty were charged to be ready (February 11) to follow the king on six days' warning. A shameless proceeding of the Court showed how entirely James was in the hands of Lennox. Captain James Stewart, on the ground that he was a kinsman to the insane Earl of Arran, had been appointed his tutor or guardian, and in April, on the monstrous pretext that he was the rightful heir of the House of Hamilton, he was put in full possession of the title and estates of the unhappy Earl. In these circumstances, the fate of Morton could not be long in suspense[2].

On the 27th of May he was brought from Dunbarton to Edinburgh; and four days later his trial took place 1581 in the Tolbooth. Among his judges were the Earls of Argyle, Montrose, Sutherland, Rothes, and the Lords Ogilvy, Maxwell and Seton—most of whom were his deadly enemies. The crime with which he was charged showed that his death was but a part of Lennox's conspiracy for the restoration of Mary and Catholicism. The charge which lay readiest to hand and which could have been conclusively proved against him was his late treasonable dealings with England; but the actual ground of his condemnation was that he had been "art and part" in the murder of Darnley. By condemning him on this ground, however, a clever stroke was done in the interest of Mary: the world was thus informed that one of her chief accusers was himself guilty of the crime he had laid to her charge. His trial was an idle

[1] Bowes, pp. 158 *et seq.*; Calderwood, III. 481—483; Spottiswoode, II. 271, 2.
[2] Calderwood, III. 487, 555.

form; but he had himself been a man of blood, and there was a certain retributive justice in all the circumstances of his death. He met his end with the resolution that had distinguished all the actions of his life. During his last night he was visited by two ministers, who drew from him a confession regarding the various charges which had been alleged against him. Of the special charge on which he was condemned he solemnly declared his innocence; he had known of the plot for Darnley's murder, but he had been neither art nor part in the deed. The day following his trial he was executed at the market-cross, and his head stuck on the highest point of the Tolbooth, where it remained till another revolution avenged him on his principal enemy. He is one of the grimmest figures even of the grim race from which he sprang —profligate, merciless, unscrupulous, yet he was not a mere lawless desperado. His conduct of the regency proved that he had the capacity and aims of a statesman, and his lifelong fidelity to Protestantism and the English alliance gives him a place next to Moray and Knox among the moving forces of his time[1].

1581 The year of Morton's death was a memorable one in the history of the Scottish Church. We have seen that in the year 1575 Andrew Melville had raised the question of the Scriptural authority for Episcopacy. Since that date the question had not been allowed to sleep. In successive Assemblies the subject had come up for debate, and at Dundee, in July, 1580, Episcopacy was formally condemned—all who held the office of bishop being ordered at once to demit it. But this was only the beginning of the work that the ministers had taken in hand. Two things yet remained to be done before the Church could discharge its trust to the nation: an efficient polity and an adequate patrimony were still things to seek, in spite of all the labours of Knox and his fellow-workers. It is in connection with the attainment of these ends that the Assembly which met in Glasgow in April, 1581, is memorable in Scottish Church history. In accordance with a letter from the king, it established those Courts, known as Presbyteries, which have given its distinctive name to the Protestantism of Scotland. Equally important was another Act of the same Assembly: it gave its definitive sanction to the famous Second Book of Discipline, the consideration of which had long occupied the leaders of the Church.

As was to be expected from the conditions in which it origin-

[1] Calderwood, III. 557 *et seq.*; Spottiswoode, II. 276—279; *Register of Privy Council*, Vol. III. pp. 387, 8.

ated, the Second Book of Discipline has a specific character of its own. The First Book is an ideal sketch of a Christian Commonwealth such as commended itself to Knox and his brethren in the first zeal of the Reformation; the Second is the draft of a practical polity which to the mind of its authors was at once a logical deduction from the teaching of Scripture and the most efficient machinery for combating the evils and dangers which beset the Reformed Church. But it is only so far as it bears on secular affairs that we are here concerned with its contents. By their insistence on two points, the authors of the Book threw down a challenge which James was not slow to take up, and which was to evoke that long controversy between Church and State, which is the beginning and end of Scottish ecclesiastical history. They condemned Episcopacy, on which James had already set his heart; and they laid down what they deemed an axiom—that to Church and State belong distinct jurisdictions within which neither may invade the other. Within four months of the Assembly's sanction of the Book, the first of these affirmations was contested by the king. In June, James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow, died; and Lennox, following the example of Morton, presented the benefice to James Montgomery, minister of Stirling —the arrangement being that out of the emoluments of the see Montgomery should annually receive "one thousand pounds Scots with some horse, corn, and poultry." The simony was unblushing and the presentee was contemptible; and James and the ministers were at once involved in a quarrel which was to have its ludicrous as well as its serious aspects[1].

The death of Morton left Lennox and Arran supreme in the councils of the country. In the case of each a further addition was made to his private fortune. Lennox 1581 was promoted to a dukedom; and Arran was married to the Countess of March, who had previously been divorced from her husband. But the two allies did not work in perfect harmony. Arran was not the man to play a secondary part, and on the ground of his descent from James II he haughtily claimed precedence of his former patron. Fortunately for the country there was a deeper ground of dissension between them: Arran was a Protestant and favourable to England, while Lennox was a Catholic and looked to a Catholic power for support against all his enemies in Scotland. It was independently of Arran, therefore,

[1] Calderwood, III. 463, 515, 577; Spottiswoode, II. 272, 281, 2.

that Lennox now threw himself into his great scheme for restoring Mary Stewart and the Catholic religion. As his conspiracy is now revealed by certain recent publications, we see at once the explanation and the justification of the revolution which overthrew him.

1581 During the year 1581, Scotland became a special object of attention on the part of the King of Spain. It had been borne in upon him that if he were to reach the heart of England, the blow must be struck through Scotland. About this period Philip had attained the height of his predominance in Europe. In 1580 he had acquired Portugal; his great general Parma was steadily making way in the Low Countries; and through the religious and dynastic dissensions in France he had acquired an ascendency in that country by an alliance with the family of Guise. It was in concert with the Duke of Guise, the patron of Lennox, that Philip, in the autumn of 1581, began operations in Scotland through the agency of Mendoza, his ambassador in London[1]. In September a secular priest, named William Watts, was despatched to Scotland to feel the mind of the country. The report returned by Watts was highly encouraging. He had a secret interview with the king, and at Seton House he met a number of nobles, all of whom expressed themselves favourable to Mary and the Pope. The list he gave of these nobles was formidable: they were Lennox himself, the Earls of Huntly, Eglinton and Caithness, and Lords Seton, Hume, Ogilvy, and Ker of Fernihurst—the last then under sentence of exile.

A Jesuit priest, Father William Holt, sent northward later in the year, was able to give a still more encouraging statement regarding Catholic prospects in Scotland. He had interviews with the lords named above, who unanimously pledged themselves to work for the following objects—the conversion of the king, or, failing his conversion, his deposition or forcible conveyance from the country. With the assistance of 2000 foreign troops they undertook to arrange all matters happily for the head of the Church. A still more important mission (Feb. 1582) was that of two Scottish Jesuits, Fathers William Crichton and Edmund Hay, sent by the Pope and the General of the Society of Jesuits. Crichton, we are told, was smuggled into the king's palace, and

[1] In two articles in the *Edinburgh Review* (Oct. 1893 and April, 1898) will be found the fullest account we possess regarding the Catholic intrigues in Scotland.

lay for three days concealed in a secret chamber. But the chief result of Crichton's mission was a letter he bore from Lennox, containing a definite pledge to the Pope, Philip, and Guise. On condition that 20,000 men should be landed in Scotland in the autumn, and an adequate sum paid for their support, Lennox undertook to do his utmost to effect the desired revolution[1].

The ministers could not know the details of these machinations, but they were fully aware that such machinations were in progress. They knew that Romish emissaries were in the country; they suspected that James had dealings with them; and they were certain that Lennox was the centre of a great Catholic conspiracy. The alarm excited by this knowledge was intensified by the general tendency of affairs in the country. The great controversy between James and the ministers had already begun. James now took up the ground from which he never, with his own consent, receded—that the Church should be ruled by bishops, and that it belonged to him to appoint them. With equal stubbornness the majority of the ministers declared that there should be no bishops, and that the king had no right to interfere with spiritual affairs. The question at issue took practical shape in the case of Montgomery, Lennox's presentee to the archbishopric of Glasgow. In spite of the threats of Lennox and his council, the Church refused to acknowledge Montgomery's appointment. While James threatened the ministers, the ministers threatened Montgomery; and the issue was that the Council assigned him the emoluments of the see while he was still under sentence of excommunication. Other proceedings of the Court confirmed the fears of all who approved the Protestant settlement. Especial favour was being shown to the old supporters of Mary: Lord Maxwell was made Warden of the West March, and promoted to the Earldom of Morton; Lords Doune, Ogilvie and Seton were admitted to the Privy Council; and Ker of Fernihurst and Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, both notorious adherents of Mary, were permitted to return from exile[2].

1581

It was during these last months of the ascendency of Lennox that the Stewart absolutism and Presbyterian Hildebrandism alike took that definite form by which they are known in history. Andrew Melville doubtless returned from

1581

[1] *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, pp. xxxiii. *et seq.*, 114 *et seq.*; *Spanish State Papers*, Vol. III. (Elizabeth), pp. 256 *et seq.*

[2] *Register of Privy Council*, Vol. III. p. xli.

Geneva with high notions of spiritual authority; but it is in the special circumstances in which he found the country that we have the explanation of those extreme claims which he and his fellow-ministers put forward in regard to the mutual relations of Church and State. James under the direction of his present advisers was assuming powers which had never been exercised by his predecessors. By open policy and secret intrigue he appeared to be steadily working for the overthrow of the existing religious settlement. The methods he was pursuing in the setting up of Episcopacy were such as of themselves discredited that form of Church polity, and drove the ministers into stronger and stronger assertions regarding its iniquity and inexpediency. Montgomery, as his career showed, was unworthy to be the minister of any Church; and Lennox's appropriation of the fruits of his see was a scandal that shocked the conscience of the country. Moreover, by the whole course of James's present and subsequent conduct it was evident that his preference for Episcopacy was mainly dictated by the fact that, through the agency of bishops of his own choosing, he would be materially assisted towards the attainment of that extended prerogative which was his persistent aim from the moment he began to think for himself. In the twofold dread of Rome and "the bloody guillie[1] of absolute authority," Presbyterianism came to birth in Scotland and took the stern lineaments with which the world is familiar. Calvinism by the characters which it formed saved Protestantism in Europe; and with equal truth it may be said that Presbyterianism saved it in Scotland.

III. The Ruthven Raid.

Had Lennox been as resolute as he was astute, he might have
1582 maintained his position for at least a few years longer; but it was now to be proved that he had not the nerve to face a revolution. He had the king in his power—which, as had so often been proved in the past, made him the most important person in the country—and he had the support of the majority of the nobles, both Catholic and Protestant. On the other hand, public opinion directed by the ministers was growing more and more exasperated at his courses; and he had made a deadly enemy of the Earl of Gowrie, who had been one of his chief instruments in effecting the fall of Morton. Elizabeth, also, was intriguing with the

[1] A large knife.—This is Andrew Melville's famous phrase. (Calderwood, III. 622.)

exiled Earl of Angus with the object of overthrowing Lennox, though as usual she avoided committing herself to a definite line of action. By the close of summer the relations of the two parties were such that some bold stroke was needed to settle which of the two was to have the direction of affairs. Such a stroke Lennox now prepared to strike. It was in Edinburgh that he had met the strongest opposition; and he conceived a scheme which, if successfully carried out, would have made him master of the city. On the 27th of August, a strong force was to seize the gates and to hold the streets, when he would demand the surrender of his most formidable enemies among the citizens and the ministers. Before this plan could be effected, however, a revolution had taken place which cut short his career in Scotland[1].

In the beginning of August James had been pursuing his favourite amusement of hunting in the district of Athole, and on the 22nd he had returned to the town of Perth. Here he was visited by the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, the Lords Lindsay, Boyd, and others, who by constraint or persuasion induced him to accompany them to the Castle of Ruthven or Huntingtower, about three miles to the north-west of Perth. A few days earlier, they had been informed through the English agent Bowes that Lennox meant to place them in ward and to bring them to trial for their share in the murder of Riccio, and they had determined to anticipate him. When the next morning James was about to step out of doors, he was told that this would not be permitted; and when he began to cry in his alarm and vexation, the Master of Glamis is reported to have exclaimed: "Better bairns greet [cry] than bearded men"—words which James is said never to have forgotten or forgiven. Such was the famous Raid of Ruthven, which for the next ten months was to place the chief power in the hands of those who had effected it[2]. 1582

An unguarded step of Arran rid the insurgents of their most formidable enemy. Trusting to his old alliance with Gowrie, who had worked with him for the destruction of Morton, he presented himself at Ruthven Castle with only two attendants, when he found that he had walked into the lion's 1582

[1] Calderwood, III. 635, 6; Bowes, 177.

[2] Bowes, 178; Calderwood, III. 637; Spottiswoode, II. 290, 1; *Spanish State Papers*, III. 506 *et seq.*

mouth. Gowrie and his friends had now only Lennox to reckon with, and they proceeded to take the invariable measures in such junctures. They issued two proclamations, in one of which James was made to declare himself a perfectly free agent, while in the other were set forth all the enormities of the late government. By a letter from the king's own hand Lennox was peremptorily told that he must leave the country before the 20th of September. At first, it appeared as if Lennox would make the attempt to reinstate himself by force. Many barons, with their respective followings, gathered round him in Edinburgh; and civil war was imminent. But his courage failed him, and he became an object of contempt to his closest adherents. Public opinion in the chief towns was unmistakeably with the revolutionary party. John Durie, a minister who had been expelled from Edinburgh for his frank criticism of the late government, was recalled and escorted through the town by a crowd of 2000 persons, singing in four parts the 124th Psalm—an event which specially disconcerted the duke. A General Assembly which met in Edinburgh on the 9th of October gave its sanction and approval to the Raid, describing it as "the late action of reformation." Still Lennox lingered on, and from Dunbarton Castle, whither he had retired for safety, he strove to recover his position in the country. The failure of a desperate plot to seize the king and cut off the Earl of Mar and others convinced him at last that his fortunes in Scotland were desperate; and on the 20th of December he withdrew by way of England to France, where he died in the following May. His great conspiracy had utterly failed, but he left an evil legacy behind him. He had given a direction to James's character and policy of which the House of Stewart and the peoples of two kingdoms were to know the disastrous results[1].

1583 Lennox having gone, the new government was relieved from immediate and pressing danger. Its policy, both in domestic and foreign affairs, was the exact reverse of that of its predecessors in authority. The Earl of Morton (Lord Maxwell) was removed from the Wardenship of the West Borders, and the laird of Johnstone put in his place. Friendship with

[1] Calderwood, III. 637—693; Spottiswoode, II. 290—7; Bowes, 180 *et seq.*—Lennox's own account of the Ruthven Raid and its sequel will be found in the *Spanish State Papers* (III. 438). From this account we learn that James was in secret communication with Lennox till the moment of his departure. There is also revealed a desperate plot on the part of Lennox to recover James from the hands of the Ruthven Raiders.

England was assiduously cultivated; and ambassadors were sent to effect a permanent understanding between the countries. James had hitherto besought Elizabeth in vain to put him in possession of his grandfather's lands in England. The demand was now renewed; but she still refused to give them up, and the negotiations led to no definite result. Gowrie and his coadjutors, in their policy towards the Church displayed their gratitude for the support of the ministers: no previous government, indeed, had shown such favour to the Protestant cause. The thirds of benefices, with which the regent Morton had played fast and loose, were restored to the Church; the laws against Papists were renewed; and perfect liberty was granted to the ministers to speak their minds freely on public affairs. In these altered circumstances, the recalcitrant Montgomery made penitent confession of his offences and sought to effect his peace with his brethren. Had the government of the Ruthven Raid maintained its authority for ten years instead of ten months, Church and State in Scotland would have had a different history; but from the beginning, as we shall see, it had rested on a foundation of sand.

Before Lennox had left Scotland, a plan was secretly arranged by which James should rid himself of his gaolers, and Lennox be recalled. To work towards this end two French ambassadors, La Mothe Fénelon and De Maineville, appeared in succession at the Scottish Court in January of 1583. The ministers, who knew that the presence of these strangers could bode them no good, inveighed against their reception; and their indignation rose to its height when a public banquet was given to Fénelon on the eve of his departure. As we are now aware, they were justified to the full in their suspicion and alarm. Fénelon brought an offer of an annual pension to James, and on leaving Scotland he went direct to Mary in her English prison. But it was De Maineville who most efficiently prepared the ground for the new revolution that was imminent. He remained in Scotland till the 20th of April, and, though he was vigilantly looked after by the English agent Bowes, he employed his time to such good purpose that he left all things ripe for the moment when James should find himself free. The opportunity was not long in coming. James, whose slippery ways were already the admiration of veteran diplomatists, gradually led his guardians to believe that he was perfectly satisfied with his present position; and they ceased to watch him with the same jealous care. On

1583

the 27th of June, as the king was walking in the park at Falkland, a letter from his grand-uncle, the Earl of March, was put into his hands. It told him that everything was now ready at St Andrews, and that he might come when he chose. Summoning Colonel Stewart, the captain of his guard, and others in attendance on him, James at once rode to St Andrews, and that night was safe in its castle. The next morning he was surrounded by the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Rothes and Marischal; and, of the authors of the Ruthven Raid, only the Earl of Gowrie was admitted to his presence[1].

IV. Ascendency of Arran.

1583 James had now completed his eighteenth year, and his natural precocity had been quickened by all the conditions of his upbringing. From this period, if not earlier, he had a perfectly clear conception of the main object of his desire and of the methods by which it might be attained; and that object was to be the successor of Elizabeth on the throne of England. To explain his devious courses towards this end, it has to be remembered that, till the moment of Elizabeth's death, it was still uncertain whether he would come after her. She refused to name him as her successor; dynastic and religious difficulties divided English public opinion; and at one time Philip II put himself forward as his formidable rival. The key to James's policy both at home and abroad is to be found in the uncertainty whether Protestantism or Catholicism was eventually to prevail in England. To make sure of his mark he had to prepare for either contingency, and so adroitly did he steer his course that neither Catholic nor Protestant could at any moment be certain that he belonged to his party. In Scotland the nation was as yet very far from being completely won to Protestantism; and if a foreign force were once landed on its shores, the result could hardly have been doubtful. But the probability of such an event possessed the minds of Catholic and Protestant alike till the very moment of James's final departure for England. In Scotland, therefore, James held the balance between the two religions as evenly as lay in his power. The ministers perfectly understood that James was ready to change his faith the moment he should find it expedient;

[1] Calderwood, III. 698—716; Spottiswoode, II. 297—301; Bowes, 312 *et seq.*; *Letters and Papers of Cardinal Allen*, pp. liii. 414; *Spanish State Papers*, III. 412 *et seq.*

Falkland Palace.

and it was this knowledge that drove them to that interference in public affairs which was forced upon them by the constant peril of their faith. James never really broke with Protestantism, even when he was deepest in the plots of the Catholic powers; but his policy of the middle course would have been impossible if he had put himself in the hands of Andrew Melville and his brother ministers. In his foreign relations James was guided by the same motives and the same principles. At this period there was a great scheme afoot in which he was playing so clever a part that he won the admiration of its principal promoters. The Duke of Guise or his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, was to land a strong force on the coast of Lancashire; English and Scottish Catholics were to join them, Elizabeth was to be put out of the way, and James and his mother were to be made joint sovereigns of the two countries[1]. James was well informed regarding this plot, and wrote to Guise to express his good wishes for its success, yet he at the same time took care that its failure should in no wise compromise his chances with Elizabeth and Protestantism. It was with such aims and such policy in his mind that James found himself his own master on his escape from the men of the Ruthven Raid.

At first it seemed as if James meant to deal in a forgiving spirit with all who had been connected with the Raid. On July 30 a proclamation was issued offering full pardon to all who were truly penitent for their late conduct. Forgetfulness of injuries, however, was not one of James's virtues; and it was not long before his real feeling was unmistakeably disclosed. On the 5th of August, Arran appeared at Court, and on the 23rd he took his place in the new Privy Council. During the next two years he was to dominate Scotland as Lennox had done before him, and his policy was in almost every point the reversal of that of the late Government. To crush the leaders of the Raid was the most pressing business of James and his minister. This was a task, however, which could not be performed at one stroke. Elizabeth was so alarmed at the turn which things had taken in Scotland that she even sent down her Secretary, Walsingham, to threaten or cajole James into a reconciliation with the Scottish party favourable to England. After a week's stay, Walsingham returned with a very bad opinion of James and of the state of his feelings towards England. The ministers, also, did what they

1583

[1] Teulet, v. 281 *et seq.*; *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, pp. iv. *et seq.*; *Spanish State Papers*, III. 455 *et seq.*

could to bring James and the leaders of the Raid into friendly relations; but neither James nor Arran was in a humour to listen to them, and all their efforts were ineffectual[1].

1584 An astounding document, written or authorised by James, reveals at once the deep game he was playing and the difficulties with which he felt himself surrounded. This was a letter to the Pope himself dated from Holyrood, 19th February, 1584. In this letter James thanks his Holiness for all his goodness to his mother, begs his assistance in putting down his enemies, as without assistance he must otherwise be forced to second their designs, and adds these remarkable words: "I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need by your Holiness[2]."

1584 Well aware of James's traffickings with Rome and with Guise, the Protestant leaders were leaving no stone unturned to effect another revolution. With more disinterested zeal, the ministers, in spite of the threatenings of the Court, had never ceased to express their approval of the Ruthven Raid and to denounce the doings of the new Government. They were now to learn that the day of their power was for the moment gone by. John Durie, the leading minister in Edinburgh, had been banished to Montrose for daring to speak well of the Raid; and now James struck at a more important person than Durie. Andrew Melville, before whom even the formidable Arran quailed, was charged with treason for comparing Mary Stewart to Nebuchadnezzar, and summoned before the Privy Council. He denied having uttered the words as they had been reported, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and flinging his Hebrew Bible on the Council table—"There," said he, "are my instructions and warrant." It was only by a secret flight to Berwick-on-Tweed that Melville escaped being made fast in the Castle of Blackness[3].

1584 Public opinion was with the Protestant lords; and if Arran were removed and James again in their hands they might reckon on a new lease of power. With the connivance of the ministers and with the approval but not the support of Elizabeth, they prepared to attempt this new enterprise. By the beginning of April all their plans were ready. The Earls of Mar and Angus and the Master of Glamis were the moving spirits;

[1] Calderwood, III. 719 *et seq.*; Spottiswoode, II. 301—3.
[2] *Spanish State Papers*, III. 518, 9.
[3] Calderwood, III. 764, IV. 5—14; Spottiswoode, II. 308, 9.

and joined with these were Lords Claud and John Hamilton, who, though both Catholics, detested the common enemy, Arran, as the upstart who held the titles and estates of their House. Gowrie, also, who had come to be despised by both parties, threw himself into the conspiracy and was to be its principal victim. James had ordered him to quit the country, but while he lingered at Dundee he was seized by Colonel Stewart and brought to Holyrood with his fate in the balance. A few days later (April 17) Mar and Glamis gained possession of Stirling Castle, and despatched the news to all the friends on whom they reckoned. But the activity of James disconcerted all their plans. By the 27th of April he was before Stirling with a force which rendered resistance impossible. Mar and Glamis had already fled, and the castle was at once surrendered—its captain and three of his men being summarily hanged. With the failure of the conspiracy Gowrie's fate was sealed, and on the 2nd of May he was beheaded in Stirling, after a trial in which he made full confession of his guilt[1].

The triumph of Arran was complete. The barons who had planned the late conspiracy, and the chief ministers who had abetted them, fled precipitately across the Border; and his power was now greater than that of Lennox had ever been. The manner in which Arran used this power made his name detested by men of all shades of opinion. By his proceedings against all who had the remotest connection with the conspirators he gratified at once his rapacity and his revenge. "To breed a terror in people," says Spottiswoode, "and cause them abstain from communicating in any sort with the exiled lords, a proclamation was made 'That whosoever should discover any person offending in that kind should, besides his own pardon, receive a special reward'." Describing the effects of Arran's policy, the same historian adds:—"These cruel and rigorous proceedings caused such a general fear, as all familiar society and intercourse of humanity was in a manner lost, no man knowing to whom he might safely speak or open his mind[2]." For the space of fourteen months Scotland was thus ruled by the desperado whom James had deliberately chosen as his chief councillor; and the reasons for the choice are to be found in James's absorbing desire to be Elizabeth's successor. Arran's ascendency was signalised by two courses of action, both of which were necessary to the attainment

1584–5

[1] Calderwood, IV. 20—35; Spottiswoode, II. 309—314.

[2] Spottiswoode, II. 302, 3.

of James's object—the one directed to curtailing the privileges of the Protestant Church, and the other to establishing friendly relations with England. As a professed Protestant, Arran was a useful instrument in compassing both these ends.

1584 The year 1584 is reckoned among the disastrous years in the annals of Scottish Presbytery. In a Parliament which met in May a series of Acts were passed, which rendered James the absolute monarch of the bodies and souls of his subjects. By these "Black Acts," as they came to be called, it was declared that the king was head of the Church as well as of the State; that no Assemblies of the Church should be held without his sanction; that bishops should be appointed, and that he should have the appointment of them; and that no minister should express his opinion on public affairs under pain of treason. Weakened though they were by the exile of the Protestant nobles, the ministers did not surrender without a struggle; but in Arran they had to deal with an enemy equally audacious and unscrupulous. When James Lawson, one of the Edinburgh ministers, protested against the "Black Acts," Arran swore that though his head were as big as a hay-stack, he would make it leap from his shoulders. By the close of August almost all the leading ministers had to seek refuge in England, and at Berwick-on-Tweed they formed a considerable community. More deadly than the detested Acts was a policy upon which James was resolved, and which was eventually attended with disastrous results to Presbyterianism. This policy was to divide the ranks of the ministers themselves. In Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews, a person of considerable learning but of questionable character, James found a useful instrument for effecting his purpose. In the preceding year he had sent Adamson to England to enquire into the working of Episcopacy, and with Adamson's assistance and counsel he now prepared to set up that system in Scotland. After endless wrangling and recrimination, James on the 2nd of December took a decisive step. He announced that every minister between Stirling and Berwick must appear on the 16th of that month before Adamson or his representatives, and subscribe the Acts of May under the penalty of being deprived of his benefice. This bold stroke effected the desired end of dividing the ranks of the ministers; and a breach was now made which was never perfectly healed. Yet James's triumph was more apparent than real. His whole action was in the teeth of public opinion, and by his high-handed measures he was effectually discrediting

the ecclesiastical system which he was so unwisely pressing on an unwilling people. The bishops were hooted in the streets; the ministers whom James appointed were left without flocks; and, when Adamson appeared in an Edinburgh pulpit, the majority of the congregation quitted the church[1]. The country was ready for another revolution, and the occasion for it was not long in coming[2].

The other policy of Arran and his master was to effect a better understanding with England; and in the case of both there were special reasons for adopting it. Arran, as a professed Protestant, could not be acceptable to Philip or Guise or Mary, and among foreign powers it was to England alone that he could reasonably look for support. His past conduct, indeed, had not commended him to Elizabeth; but, if he could detach James from France, this would be a service which she could not overlook; and this was the bid which he was now prepared to make for her favour. James, on his side, had likewise his reasons for desiring Elizabeth's friendship. If she should finally triumph over all her enemies, it would seriously imperil his claims to the succession should it come to be known that he had been identified with the attempts to destroy her. Moreover, if the schemes of Philip and Guise should prevail and they should ever have England at their disposal, James was by no means assured that, heretic as he was, they would keep to their compact and make him joint ruler of England with his mother. 1584-5

The negotiations opened in the second week of August, when Arran met Lord Hunsdon at Foulden, near Berwick-on-Tweed. As the main result of their conference, it was arranged that an ambassador should be sent from Scotland to discuss the questions at issue between the two countries. The agent chosen for this purpose is the third in succession of those adventurers who played such a notable part in the opening years of the reign of James VI. He was Patrick, Master of Gray, who in the preceding November had returned to Scotland in company with the eldest son of the Duke of Lennox. He had been reared a Protestant, but in France he had changed his religion, and become a trusted tool of Guise and the Queen of Scots, in whose interests it was that he had returned to his native country. Handsome, 1584

[1] Leopold von Wedel, a Pomeranian who visited Scotland in 1584, refers to this scene in church at which he was himself present.

[2] Calderwood, IV. 62—73, 209—211; Spottiswoode, II. 314—318; *History of James the Sext*, 205.

accomplished, daring, and with a special genius for intrigue, Gray speedily won the favour of James, and was to prove the dangerous rival of Arran. His mission was a difficult one, for besides his accredited instructions, he had a game of his own to play which would have taxed the most consummate trickster. As the representative of Arran and James, his main business was to persuade Elizabeth that by expelling the banished Scottish lords from her kingdom she would make a better bargain with Scotland than by entertaining them. For his own private reasons, however, it was precisely the object of Gray to procure the restoration of these lords, and by their means to effect the overthrow of Arran. As he was still in the pay of Guise, he thus had three parties to satisfy that he was honestly working in their interests—Mary, Elizabeth, and Arran. For his own purpose, however, it was Elizabeth whom he was mainly concerned to convince of his good faith ; and, by revealing certain secrets of Guise and the Queen of Scots, he persuaded her to trust him. When in January 1585 he returned to Scotland, it was on the secret understanding that, when the fitting moment came, Elizabeth should permit the banished lords to seek their own country[1].

1585

At the same time, an important event in European politics drew James and Elizabeth together by a bond of common interest. In March 1585 the Holy League was proclaimed in France ; and the Duke of Guise, abetted by Philip of Spain, drew the sword to exclude the heretic Henry of Navarre from the succession, and to gain the throne of France for his own House of Lorraine. Should the enterprise succeed, the fate of Protestantism was assured ; and it was the pressing necessity of all Protestant princes to present a united front against the common enemy. With this object Elizabeth, at the close of May, sent Edward Wotton to Scotland to negotiate a counter-league to that of Philip and Guise. To enforce his mission, Wotton brought a gift of hunting-horses and hounds, and the offer of an annual pension of £5000. By the aid of these inducements and supported by the influence of the Master of Gray, Wotton successfully accomplished his errand ; and on the 31st of July, a Convention held at St Andrews gave its sanction to a religious league between the two countries. But the league was only part of Wotton's errand in Scotland. His other object was to undermine

[1] Calderwood, IV. 171—191, 253 ; Spottiswoode, II. 323, 4 ; *Papers relating to the Master of Gray* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 1—44.

the influence of Arran and thus effect the return of the banished lords.

An incident which happened a few days before the conclusion of the league was made an occasion for bringing about both these ends. On the day of truce, when Sir John Forster and Ker of Fernihurst, the respective wardens of the Scotch and English Borders, had met to transact the usual business on such occasions, a fray suddenly arose in which Lord Russell, the son of Lord Bedford, was slain. It was alleged, rightly or wrongly, that the affair had been arranged by Arran; and Elizabeth through Wotton imperiously demanded his surrender. James yielded so far that he placed Arran in ward in the Castle of St Andrews, but he refused to give him up in spite of Elizabeth's persistent solicitations. In the beginning of September commissioners from the two countries met at Berwick to discuss the question of redress for the slaughter of Russell; but the discussion led to no result, and Elizabeth at length determined to take the decisive step. On the 13th of October, without giving any notice of his intention, Wotton secretly withdrew from the Court at Stirling; he reached Berwick on the 16th. The meaning of this move was speedily seen. The day after his arrival at Berwick, the banished lords—the Earls of Angus and Mar, the Master of Glamis and others—appeared in that town; within a fortnight they were across the Border. At Jedburgh and Kelso they met with their friends, and it was arranged that their united forces should be at Falkirk by the 1st of November. Arran had made attempts to draw together an army, and was now in Stirling with the king and the chief lords who had supported him. When on the 2nd of November, however, the enemy appeared before the town, he saw that resistance was hopeless, and, knowing well what would be his fate should he fall into their hands, he made his escape with a single attendant. After a feeble show of fight on the part of his friends, town and castle were both surrendered; and the public career of Arran was at an end[1].

[1] Calderwood, IV. 372—390; Spottiswoode, II. 327—332.

V. Execution of Mary: The Spanish Armada.

In the new Government no single person dominated the king's counsels in the same degree as Lennox and Arran. Between the restored lords and those who had lately been in authority a compromise was adopted, which was apparent at once in the composition of the new Privy Council and in the general policy which it followed. The Earls of Angus and Mar and the Master of Glamis sat side by side in it with the Earls of Huntly, Montrose, Crawford, and the Earl Marischal. In the relations of the country to England it was the party of the restored lords that prevailed; and on the 5th of July the treaty of the preceding year was finally concluded at Berwick. It bound the two countries to an offensive and defensive alliance—Elizabeth agreeing to pay the King of Scots an annual sum of £4000, partly as a bribe and partly as a remittance for his paternal estates in England. Before the year was out it was to be seen how many forces were still at work to hold the two nations apart[1].

1586

If the restored lords carried their point with regard to England, it was far otherwise at home. In his policy towards the Church James proved to be inexorable. The exiled ministers, Andrew Melville and the rest, had returned with the lords from England, and securely reckoned that another day had dawned for the cause of true religion. They speedily discovered their delusion. No movement was made to cancel the detested "Black Acts"; and, in a trial of strength between the king and Melville's party, it was seen that the ministers were no longer a united body. The Synod of Fife, directed by Melville and his nephew, the diarist James, passed sentence of excommunication on Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews. In a General Assembly which met in May, James brought all his influence to bear toward the revoking of the sentence, and by threats and promises he attained his end. "In this Assembly," says Calderwood, "was first perceived what fear and flattery of Court could work among weak and inconsiderate ministers." In truth, there was a party among the ministers, represented by such men as Erskine of Dun and Craig, the successor of Knox in the church of St Giles, to whom the extremes both of Melville and the king were equally

1586

[1] *Register of Privy Council*, Vol. IV. pp. x.—xiii.; Calderwood, IV. 587; Spottiswoode, II. 346—8.

distasteful, and who would have preferred a middle way between highflying Episcopacy and extreme Presbyterianism[1].

Towards the close of the year 1586 Christendom was stirred by an event in which the Scottish people had the first and pre-eminent interest. On the ground of her alleged complicity in Babington's plot for the assassination of Elizabeth, Mary Stewart was put upon trial in her prison at Fotheringhay. The position of James with regard to the trial of his mother was one that would have tried a stronger and nobler nature than his. He could have little personal affection for her, since he was hardly two years old when she had fled to England after Langside. On the other hand, filial obligation and the pride of race and country were sufficiently powerful motives for the most strenuous endeavours to avert a national and dynastic disgrace. Certain of James's ancestors would not have counted the cost, and would have staked their lives and their kingdoms in a quarrel which involved the honour of both. But James was neither courageous nor chivalrous; and, moreover, there were weighty reasons which counselled prudence. He was himself without experience of war; he was poor; and his subjects were so much divided with regard to his mother that he could not reckon on their hearty and collective support. Besides these cogent reasons for shrinking from a conflict with England, there were others less worthy which undoubtedly influenced James's decision. The removal of his mother would leave him the sole representative of his and her claims to the Crowns of the two countries; and a war with Elizabeth would finally decide her never to yield that recognition of his claims which he was so eager to extort. Out of mere decency, however, he was bound to lodge a protest against proceedings which all the world knew would end but in one way; and two embassies in succession were sent on this errand. In the latter of these embassies was the Master of Gray, who, as on his mission of the previous year, took the opportunity of pressing his private opinion on Elizabeth and her ministers. Mary, as he knew, held his life in her hands; and for him, at least, it was necessary that she should be out of the way. *Mortui non mordent*—the dead don't bite—is reported to have been the burden of his advice to Elizabeth; and the saying is in perfect accordance with everything that is known of him[2].

1586

[1] Calderwood, IV. 583.

[2] *Extracts from the Despatches of M. Courcelles*, French Ambassador at the Court of Scotland (Ban. Club), p. 55; Calderwood, IV. 602, 5; *Letters and Papers of the Master of Gray*, pp. 120 *et seq.*

The execution of Mary (February 8, 1587) strained the relations between the two countries, but produced no serious crisis. The Earl of Bothwell probably expressed the feeling of the majority of the Scottish nobles when he exclaimed that a coat of mail would be the best suit of mourning. But this attitude was far from being that of the whole nation. The ministers had refused to pray for her in terms dictated by James, which implied her innocence of the charges on which she was condemned; and there was a minority of the nobles who could not afford to quarrel with Elizabeth. The immediate result of Mary's death was a temporary weakening of the English party in Scotland and increased tension between the two sovereigns. Reckoning on this state of things, the disgraced Arran made a bold attempt to avenge himself on his enemies and to recover his power. He accused Angus, Mar and Glamis of treasonable dealings with England, the object of which was to kidnap James and place him in the hands of Elizabeth. The attempt came to nothing; but he struck more successfully at one to whom more than any other his ruin had been due. His brother, Sir William Stewart, revealed the secret doings of the Master of Gray, with the result that that youthful schemer was sentenced to death, and escaped his fate only on the urgent intercession of Lord Hamilton. Though banished from Scotland for a time, he was eventually to reappear, and even to resume his seat at the Privy Council board[1].

1587

The Convention which condemned the Master of Gray closed with a singular event which none of the contemporary historians have failed to chronicle. As the Convention was numerously attended by the nobility, James conceived the original idea of ending all their feuds by one happy stroke. On the 14th of May he entertained them at a banquet in Holyrood and, after thrice drinking their health, called on them to enter into a bond of brotherly affection, vowing that he would be the mortal enemy of him who first broke the pledge. The following night he marched at their head from Holyrood to the castle, demolishing the gibbets, and releasing from the Tolbooth such as were imprisoned for debt. At the Market Cross a table had been spread with wine, bread, and sweetmeats; here the whole company pledged each other in a cup of kindness in the presence of the assembled multitude—the ceremony being accompanied by singing and the sound of trumpets and the roar of the cannon from the castle. Only one person, we are told, refused to take the hand of his enemy—

1587

[1] Calderwood, IV. 612, 3; Spottiswoode, II. 372—4.

William, Lord Yester, who was straightway consigned to the castle and kept there till he attained to a more Christian frame of mind[1].

But the year 1587 is memorable for a more important achievement than this whimsical love-feast of King James. In a Parliament which met in July two Acts were passed —one of which was to determine the future ecclesiastical development of Scotland. On the ground that the Crown had been impoverished by its gifts to the pre-Reformation Church, and was thus constrained to undue taxation of the people, all ecclesiastical property was declared thenceforth to belong to the king—provision being made for the sustenance and housing of the clergy in all their degrees. By this Act, as was fully understood at the time, Episcopacy as it had been established in England was once for all made impossible in Scotland. That James should have consented to such an Act is decisive proof that his preference for bishops was due to mere reasons of State, and that he had no earnest conviction of their divine appointment for the guidance of the Church. The other Act passed by this Parliament marks one of the few definite steps in the constitutional history of the country. By an Act of James I the smaller barons had been empowered to choose Commissioners to represent them in Parliament, but the Act had remained practically a dead letter. By the Parliament of 1587 the privilege of the smaller barons was re-affirmed—the franchise being restricted to such as held land of forty shillings' value and had their "actual dwelling and residence in the same shire[2]." 1587

"This," says Spottiswoode of the year 1588, "was the marvellous year talked of so long by the astrologers." All through the winter, we are told, King James was occupied in the study of the Apocalypse with special reference to the signs of the times. But no portents from heaven were needed to inform men that a great crisis in their destinies was at hand. During the last three years Philip of Spain had been preparing his mighty armament for the extinction of heresy in its stronghold, and the world now learned that the hour had come for striking the blow. 1588

In Scotland the divided state of religious beliefs intensified the feelings with which the coming of the Armada was awaited. As has been said, at least one-third of the nobility were Catholics; and in the counties of Angus, Aberdeen, 1588

[1] Calderwood, IV. 613, 4; Spottiswoode, II. 374; Moysie's *Memoirs* (Maitland Club), p. 63; *The Historie of King James the Sext*, pp. 228, 9.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, III. 431—437, 509.

Inverness, Moray, Sutherland, Caithness, with Wigtown and Nithsdale, the large majority of the people were of the same religion[1]. The king himself was not whole-hearted for either faith. During the ascendency of Lennox, as we have seen, he had himself been deep in a plot for the Catholic invasion of England. Since that date, however, he had good reason to suspect that Philip's triumph over Elizabeth would not necessarily mean that the heretic King of Scots would take her place. Recently, indeed, Philip had boldly claimed, in virtue of his descent from the House of Lancaster, that he was himself the rightful King of England. James, therefore, decided that his safer course lay in opposing Philip to the best of his ability. Yet the degree of zeal which he displayed did not satisfy the more ardent of the ministers. A General Assembly which met in February urged him, in view of the threatened danger, to take more strenuous action against all suspected Papists; and they unflinchingly named the most conspicuous of them. Though disposed to resent this interference with his affairs, James made a civil response, and promised that he would not fail in his duty against the common enemy. An expedition which he made in May proved the sincerity of his intentions. Lord Maxwell, who had been deprived of the earldom of Morton in favour of the Earl of Angus, was believed to be holding himself in readiness to join the Spaniard at the first signal; and to disable him James led a strong force into Dumfriesshire. The expedition was completely successful, Maxwell being put to flight and afterwards caught by Sir William Stewart, the brother of the disgraced Arran[2].

The Armada sailed in July; and, as it was rumoured that the northern coast of Scotland was its probable destination, all preparations were made for the national defence. The inevitable bond of religion was again renewed; balefires were set on the hills; and the lieges were commanded to be ready in arms at the first intimation of danger. Luckily for Scotland, it had no occasion to try its strength against the veterans of Spain; and its only experience of the great Armada was the presence of a few shipwrecked crews cast on its shores by those autumnal gales which finished the work so well begun by Howard and Drake. At the close of the year that had opened with such gloomy omens, the nation, according to Spottiswoode, could reckon but one disaster that it had sustained

[1] These facts are contained in a document which had been drawn up for Elizabeth's minister, Lord Burleigh, in 1589. Its contents are given by Tytler.

[2] Calderwood, IV. 678, 9; Spottiswoode, II. 383, 4.

Camb. Univ. Press

Shires mainly Protestant coloured .....
,, ,, Roman Catholic coloured...

Map showing the relative numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics about 1590.

—the death of the Earl of Angus, whose high character for genuine religious feeling had gained for him the esteem of all parties, and whose place, as the ministers were not slow to find, was to be filled by no successor[1].

VI. The Spanish Blanks.

The failure of the Armada did not relieve the country from its terror of a great Papist conspiracy[2]. The events of 1589, indeed, proved how well grounded had been the apprehension of a Catholic rising in concert with the invader. In February a revelation was made which brought home to every Protestant the greatness of the danger he had escaped. There fell into Elizabeth's hands a packet of letters, which she had the mischievous satisfaction of sending to James for his inspection. The letters were from the Earls of Huntly and Errol to Philip of Spain and the Duke of Parma, his general in the Low Countries; and their purport could not be mistaken. Both writers expressed their great sorrow at the miscarriage of the late enterprise, and promised their ready assistance when his attempt should be renewed. "Good Lord," wrote Elizabeth in her letter which accompanied the packet, "methinks I do but dream: no king a week would bear this." But James saw the matter in a different light from Elizabeth. It has been already said more than once that it was the policy of James to hold the balance between the two religions as evenly as public opinion would permit, and it was this policy that now directed his proceedings against the popish earls. The clamours of the ministers would not permit him to ignore their treason; and both Errol and Huntly were put through the form of an examination—the latter being imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh. Within a few days Huntly was set at liberty; and in the beginning of April, together with Errol, Crawford, Bothwell and Montrose, he was at the head of a force of 3000 men, bidding defiance to the royal authority. But neither Huntly nor his brother earls were men to head a revolution. They made a show of encountering the royal army at the Bridge of Dee near Aberdeen, but, when they learned that James had taken the field in person, their courage

1589

[1] Calderwood, IV. 681; Spottiswoode, II. 389, 90.

[2] An admirable account of the events recorded in this section will be found in an article entitled, "The Spanish Blanks and the Catholic Earls" by Dr T. G. Law (*Scottish Review*, July, 1893).

forsook them and they disbanded their forces. One after the other the rebel earls gave themselves up, and in May they were tried by the Privy Council in Edinburgh. For less crimes than theirs many nobles in Scotland had lost their heads; but, in consistency with his policy towards his Catholic subjects of rank, James took care that the punishment of the earls should be as light as with decency it could be made. Huntly, Crawford, and Bothwell were committed to different prisons, from which all of them were released before the close of September[1].

1589 During the latter half of the year the thoughts of the nation were occupied with happier events. After somewhat protracted negotiations, a marriage had at last been arranged between the King of Scots and Anne, the second daughter of Frederick II of Denmark. On the 20th of August the marriage had been transacted by proxy—the Earl Marischal taking the place of James; and the bride was expected to arrive in September. By stress of weather, however, she was prevented from accomplishing the voyage; and James conceived the heroic resolution of fetching his bride home under his own protection. Accordingly, having made provision for the government of the country during his absence, James, on the 22nd of October, sailed for Norway with a train of three hundred persons. His intention was to be at home again within twenty days, but his absence actually extended to six months—and, says Calderwood, "the country was never in greater peace[2]" than during this period.

1590 On the first of May, 1590, James arrived at Leith, and on Sunday the 17th the queen was crowned in the Abbey Kirk of Holyrood—Robert Bruce, the most distinguished of the Edinburgh ministers, performing the ceremony of anointing[3]. Anne was only in her sixteenth year and was in no way a remarkable woman; yet, as she was not always of the same mind as her consort, she did not promote the harmony of his Court. James's principal councillor for the last three years had been Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, a younger brother of the famous secretary of Mary Stewart. Thirlestane was a person of a different stamp from James's two previous advisers, Lennox and Arran. "The wisest man in Scotland," Lord Burghley called him; and the

[1] Calderwood, v. 6—55; Spottiswoode, II. 390—6.

[2] Calderwood, v. 59—67; Spottiswoode, II. 396—404.

[3] Certain of the ministers objected to the anointing on the ground that it was "a superstitious rite among Christians, borrowed from the Jews." They likewise protested against the choice of Sunday as the Coronation-day.—Calderwood, v. 95.

history of his administration proves that he had the views and the capacity of a statesman. But he was acceptable to neither the extreme Protestants nor the extreme Catholics. He was a Protestant by conviction, but his moderate and often self-seeking policy did not wholly commend him to the most influential ministers. It was in the face of many enemies, therefore, that he had retained his position as Lord Chancellor, and directed the councils of James; and now in the young queen he had to reckon with another adversary, who never forgot that he had endeavoured to persuade James to seek a better match than the second daughter of the King of Denmark.

The most deadly enemy of Thirlestane was Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell; and the story of Bothwell's attempts to avenge himself on that statesman throws a vivid light on the degree of law and order that prevailed in the country. The father of Bothwell was an illegitimate son of James V; and his mother was a sister of Mary Stewart's Bothwell—facts which partly explain James's ill-judged lenity towards one who set at defiance the first principles of civil order. "Many enormities," says Calderwood, speaking of this year, "were committed, as if there had been no king in Israel; so contemptible was the king's authority, and that through his own default, wanting due care and courage to minister justice." Throughout the year 1591 the escapades of Bothwell were in all men's mouths. In January he broke into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, carried off a prisoner who was a witness against one of his clients, and, having lodged him in his own Castle of Crichton, threatened to hang him on the gallows of that keep. His next adventure was not of his own seeking. In April he was summoned before the Privy Council on an amazing charge: he was accused of employing witches to raise storms to prevent the king's return from Norway. Though he stoutly denied the charge, he was shut up in the Castle of Edinburgh, and his servants forbidden to come within ten miles of the king. On the 21st of June, at two in the morning, he made his escape from the castle; and in the beginning of July James rode to the Borders in search of him, but had to return with his hands empty after an eight days' pursuit. On the 23rd of July Bothwell was denounced as an outlaw at the Town Cross of Edinburgh. Three days later, after a quiet supper in Leith, he proceeded to the Netherbow, cast a forty-shilling piece on the causeway, and defied the chancellor to lay hands on him. Outlaw though he was, Bothwell continued to

1591

make light of all the threats uttered against him. In October he again appeared in Leith, though it was only after the loss of his best horse that he made good his escape from the pursuit of James. But his masterpiece of audacity occurred on the night of the 27th of December. About the time of supper he secretly entered Holyrood with a considerable following, and made a simultaneous onslaught on the doors of the king, the queen, and the chancellor. A message was carried to the Provost, and the city was roused by the ringing of the common bell; but, before assistance could be brought, the desperado had made his escape. Some eight of his followers, however, were taken and hanged at the City Cross[1].

1592 But the pranks of Bothwell were overshadowed by a sensational crime which has remained in the memory of the Scottish people. In its origin and its results, this crime is a signal proof of the impotence of James's rule, and is the fullest justification of the impatience of the ministers with a king who was unable or unwilling to discharge the first duties of his office. On the death in 1584 of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyle, a dispute arose among the guardians of his son and heir, which ended in the predominance of John Campbell of Cawdor. At the period of which we are speaking, the hereditary feud between the Earls of Moray and Huntly was in its acutest stage; and each chief was seeking the support of all the allies he could command. By kinship and common interest the Earls of Argyle were bound to the House of Moray, and Cawdor took the side of Moray in his present quarrel with Huntly. But there were many persons who were eager to profit by the minority of the heir of Argyle, and with certain of these persons Huntly concocted a plot for the destruction at once of the young earl, of his guardian Cawdor, and of the Earl of Moray. Chief among the conspirators was Thirlestane, the Lord Chancellor, who was to receive for his services a slice of the Argyle lands in Stirlingshire. The original plan was to cut off all three victims by assassination; but in the case of Moray the chancellor thought to effect his ends under form of law. James hated Moray both as a popular favourite and as the son-in-law of the Regent who had taken the place of his mother. Whatever may have been his motive, James now exercised his authority in a manner as impolitic as it was reprehensible. Moray had been charged with abetting the sedition of Bothwell; and James entrusted Huntly with the duty of apprehending the man who was his mortal enemy.

[1] Calderwood, v. 116—143; Spottiswoode, II. 411—419.

Anne of Denmark.

In accordance with a royal injunction, Moray had left the Highlands and taken up his residence at his house of Donibristle near Aberdour on the coast of Fife. Here, on the night of the 8th of February, he was beset by Huntly with a band of his followers. On his refusal to surrender, the house was given to the flames; and, bursting through his enemies, Moray made his way to the shore. Discovered by the burning tassels of his helmet, he was butchered on the spot—Huntly himself, it is said, inflicting one of his wounds, and his murdered enemy exclaiming, "You have spoilt a better face than your own[1]."

By his personal beauty and accomplishments and his family connection with the "Good Regent," Moray had been the most popular noble of his time; and the circumstances of his death gave rise to a panic of terror and indignation. It was the leading Papist in the country who had done the deed, and it was rightly believed that the chancellor had abetted him. Nor did James himself escape suspicion of being party to the crime—a suspicion which was confirmed by his conduct toward the accused. After a short nominal imprisonment in the Castle of Blackness, Huntly was permitted to go free, and in spite of the pertinacious clamours of the ministers and the people, he was never seriously tried for his crime. Yet according to the historian of the Kirk, it was through the obloquy which followed the unpunished crimes of Huntly and Bothwell that James and Thirlestane were constrained to make a memorable concession to the Presbyterian party. On the last day of March, partly through the intrigues of the queen and partly through popular odium, Thirlestane was driven from the Court. But there was an opportunity at hand for his recovering his lost popularity. After an interval of nearly five years a Parliament was to meet in May. When it met, James and his chancellor gave their sanction to the Act which has been called the "Magna Charta of the Church of Scotland." By this Act all previous legislation in favour of the Reformed Church was ratified, Presbytery was formally sanctioned, and the severest measures against the old religion confirmed. The ministers were fully aware that nothing short of absolute compulsion had constrained James to give his consent to such an Act; but they had at length obtained the object for which they had so long been striving, and

1592

[1] Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands*, pp. 244—254; Calderwood, v. 144, 5; Spottiswoode, II. 419, 20. The ballad, entitled "The Bonny Earl o' Murray," expresses the popular feeling of the time regarding the earl and his murderer.

thenceforward they could appeal to this Act as the muniment of their spiritual liberties[1].

But the excitements of this remarkable year were not yet over.

1592 In June the madcap Bothwell, with a band of more than a hundred men, beset the Palace of Falkland, and, but for the gathering of the country people, would have secured the person of the king. So great was the terror and helplessness of James that he dared not remain in one spot lest his terrible subject should find him out. Another sensation of the year was the temporary reappearance of the disgraced Earl of Arran. At the command of James, he came to lodge certain accusations against the Chancellor Thirlestane, who was still in retirement in his family house of Lethington. Whatever may have been James's motive in recalling his old favourite, public opinion would not permit that Arran should have a chance of ever being what he once had been ; and he was driven back to his retreat, to the heartfelt relief of all parties in the State[2].

The next two years saw the final attempt and failure of the

1593 Catholic party to overthrow the Protestant settlement in Scotland. We have seen that they had never ceased to hope that with the help of France or Spain this end might yet be accomplished. Had such help come, Scotland and England both would have been involved in a struggle, the result of which could hardly have been doubtful. But the promised foreign auxiliaries never came ; and the Scottish Catholics were to learn that in their own strength they were unequal to the enterprise.

In the last week of 1592 a discovery was made which revived

1593 all the Protestant terrors that followed the Spanish Armada. Upon information supplied by the English agent in Scotland, George Ker, brother of Lord Newbattle, was seized in the island of Cumbrae in the Firth of Clyde ; and on his person were found certain letters and blank papers which told a remarkable story. The blanks, eight in number, bore the signatures of the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoune, and were to be filled up by the bearer with a message orally entrusted to him by the signatories. The main purport of the correspondence was a request to Philip that a Spanish army should be sent to Scotland, with which the Catholics of that country would be ready to act in concert. When the facts of the

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, III. 541 ; Calderwood, V. 162 ; Spottiswoode, II. 420, 1.
[2] Calderwood, V. 168, 172, 186 ; Spottiswoode, II. 421, 2.

conspiracy became known, the ministers loudly demanded the immediate arrest and punishment of the principal traitors. But James had his own reasons for proceeding more circumspectly with his dangerous subjects. To the indignation of the ministers, the Catholic earls were not brought to trial; and the only person who suffered was Graham of Fintry, one of their subordinate agents. In the circumstances, the old suspicion was confirmed that James himself was privy to the Catholic plot; and the recent publication of a remarkable document from James's own hand conclusively proves that the suspicion was justified. From this document it appears that, so early as the summer of 1592, James was privy to the scheme of a Spanish invasion of England through his own kingdom, and that he was deliberately weighing its probable results for himself[1]. From other recent publications we also know that all through the events that followed the discovery of the Spanish Blanks, James had a secret understanding with the Catholic earls, and that to the extent of his ability he endeavoured to shield them from the extreme penalty of the law[2].

But public opinion and the pressure of events forced James to renounce the temporising policy which he had hitherto followed towards the two religious parties. The pertinacious demands of the ministers for the punishment of the Catholic leaders were urgently supported by Elizabeth, whom, in view of the English succession, he could not afford to ignore. But it was the conduct of the irrepressible Bothwell that became the direct occasion of the suppression of the northern earls. On the 24th of July he surprised James in Holyrood Palace; and so powerful was his following that he was able to dictate his own terms. Remission was granted for all past offences of himself and his supporters; he was reinstated in all his possessions; and James consented to remove from the Court the Chancellor Thirlestane and others whom Bothwell alleged to have been the cause of all his misdemeanours. It was only James's temporary weakness that had constrained him to this humiliating agreement, and he seized the first occasion of repudiating it. In a Convention held at Stirling in September, he

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission*—Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, 1892, Part IV. p. 214. In this document James, after the manner of Burleigh, weighs the advantages and disadvantages of supporting the Spanish invasion that had been planned to take place in the summer of 1592.

[2] *Spanish State Papers*, Vol. IV. 603.—"Statement of what happened in Scotland in the month of December last year, 1592, in consequence of the Embassy which the Catholic lords of that country wished to send to His Majesty." In this document there is new and interesting matter regarding the affair of the Spanish Blanks.

revoked the late concessions on the ground that they had been extorted from him by force[1].

But James's troubles with Bothwell were not yet at an end.

1594 Desperado though he was, Bothwell had the support of many Protestants, who were indignant at James's unsatisfactory dealings with the Catholic conspirators. In another and the last of his harebrained enterprises, known as the "Raid of Leith," he attempted to seize the king's person, and narrowly failed in accomplishing his purpose. Foiled in this attempt, he fell on another device for gratifying his revenge; and it is here that his story links itself on to that of the Catholic earls. In the month of August he formed a secret league with these earls, with the double object of mutual defence and of overthrowing the existing religion[2]. Since the discovery of the Spanish Blanks, Huntly and his confederates had bade defiance to the Government, and in the preceding month (July) they had been guilty of an act which amounted to open rebellion. A Spanish ship, bearing letters and money from Pope Clement VIII to the king, had arrived at Aberdeen; and the magistrates of the town had promptly seized the envoy and three English priests who accompanied him[3]. On hearing this news, Huntly and his friends threatened the town with fire and sword if the prisoners were not instantly released—a threat which the magistrates were not in a position to defy.

In the face of such a proceeding, James was constrained to take the step which he had used every shift to avoid: in the month of September he summoned the lieges to attend him on an expedition against his rebel subjects. Indignant at his delay, however, the ministers had persuaded the young Earl of Argyle to take the field in advance of him. Before the arrival of James in the north, Argyle had met Huntly and Errol at Glenlivet in Banffshire (Oct. 4). Argyle's army was greatly superior in numbers, but to his Highland infantry in their plaids and bonnets were opposed a strong body of cavalry armed with lances and clothed in mail. Treachery in Argyle's ranks gave another advantage to the enemy; and, though the accounts of the action are somewhat conflicting, Argyle appears to have sustained a severe defeat[4]. The day following the

[1] Calderwood, v. 214—261; Spottiswoode, II. 433—436.

[2] *Register of Privy Council*, v. 173—5.

[3] *Spanish State Papers*, IV. 590. From the document here referred to it appears that both the letter and the money were addressed to James by Clement VIII.

[4] *Spanish State Papers*, IV. 590, 1; Calderwood, v. 348—353; Spottiswoode, II. 458—60; Moysie's *Memoirs*, 120; *Historie of James the Sext*, 338—42.

battle of Glenlivet, James took his march northward, attended at his express desire by Andrew and James Melville and other ministers, that they might be eyewitnesses to his zeal against the Papist rebels. In spite of their late victory, the Catholic earls shrank from a further trial of strength; and, after destroying Strathbogie and Slaines, the chief houses of Huntly and Errol, James returned to Edinburgh without having met an enemy. The young Duke of Lennox, whom he left behind him as his lieutenant, completed the work of the expedition by extorting the consent of the two earls to quit the country. The failure of the northern rebellion wrought the ruin of Bothwell, discredited by his late conduct alike with Elizabeth and the Scottish ministers. Driven from Scotland, he was not more welcome in England; and his last days were spent in Naples in indigence and obscurity[1].

Crushed in the north the Catholic cause had in the preceding year received another blow by the slaughter of Lord Maxwell, its most powerful representative on the Borders. Maxwell, it will be remembered, had been one of the Scottish nobles who was prepared to co-operate with the Spanish Armada, and had been attacked in his own stronghold by James himself and made prisoner by Sir William Stewart. Since that time, however, he had made his peace with James and been appointed Warden of the West Marches. It was in the discharge of his duty as Warden that he was to meet his end. Between the clans of Maxwell and Johnstone there had long been a deadly feud; but their quarrel had been recently patched up, and bonds of alliance had passed between their respective chiefs. Trusting, doubtless, to the goodwill of the Warden, one Johnstone in 1593 made a profitable raid on the lands of Lord Crichton of Sanquhar and the laird of Drumlanrig. Notwithstanding his bond with the Johnstones, Maxwell determined, not without personal motives, to discharge the duties of his office; and the result was the last memorable clan-battle on the Scottish Border. The two forces met at Dryfe Sands, near Lockerby; and though greatly inferior in numbers, the Johnstones gained a decisive victory. Before the battle both chieftains had offered a reward for the head or hand of the other. The prize fell to Johnstone—the hand of Maxwell being severed as he held it out for quarter, and his head carried off by the savage victor. From the number of face-wounds given in the battle, a "Lockerby lick" passed into the common speech of the country. The death of Maxwell and the fall of the

[1] Calderwood, v. 353—57; Spottiswoode, II. 460, 1.

northern earls cut off the last hope of the Catholic cause in Scotland[1]. Catholic emissaries still continued to plot, and the ministers did not cease from their terrors, but henceforward Catholicism was not a formidable danger.

VII. The Octavians.

1595 With the suppression of the chief troublers of the public peace begins a new period in the reign of James VI. Court intrigues now take the place of open sedition; and it is the queen who is more or less their moving spirit. Prince Henry, the heir to the Crown, was, in accordance with Scottish custom, in the keeping of his hereditary custodier, the Earl of Mar; and the queen desired to have him in her own hands. In order to effect her purpose she had gained over a considerable party, chief among whom was her old enemy, the Lord Chancellor Thirlestane, with whom she had long made her peace. The enterprise was on the eve of accomplishment, when the king, who had learned the secret from the Earl of Mar, effectually intervened, and prevented further proceedings. The failure of the queen's scheme is memorable for its results on the fortunes of Thirlestane. Driven from the Court in disgrace, he took the king's displeasure so much to heart that, according to the contemporary historian, he fell into a mortal sickness of which he died in the space of two months (October 3). He was not a high-minded public servant, but he had been the most sagacious adviser who had yet directed James's counsels; and his great measure in favour of Presbytery has given him a notable place in Scottish ecclesiastical history. His master had appreciated his services, and in a poetical epitaph he at once bewailed his loss and let the world know his own cleverness[2].

1595 Another incident of the same year has a place in every history of the City of Edinburgh—the tragic barring-out by the boys of the High School. Defrauded in part of their usual autumn holiday, sixteen of them, all armed, took possession

[1] The feud between the Johnstones and the Maxwells is commemorated in the ballads—"Lord Maxwell's Good Night" and "The Lads of Wamphray." In his introduction to the former of these ballads, Scott in his *Border Minstrelsy* gives a detailed account of the fight at Dryfe Sands and of the circumstances that led to it.

[2] Calderwood, v. 365, 6, 382; Spottiswoode, II. 462—5. James's composition is as follows:—

> "Thou passenger, that spies with gazing eyes
> This sad trophie of Death's triumphant dart,
> Consider, when this outward tomb thou sees [*sic*],

of the school on a Sunday evening, and refused all the terms that were offered to them. At length, a baillie named Macmorran, reputed the richest man of his time, headed a band of town-officials and presented himself before the youthful garrison. He was received with flouts and jeers and the firing of blank-shot, and on his attempting to break in the door he was shot through the head by the son of the Chancellor of Caithness. The outcry was great; Macmorran's friends were rich; and the boys were all the sons of barons and gentlemen. Seven of the ringleaders were thrown into prison; but after two months the case was tried before the Privy Council, when their youth and family connections secured the pardon of all the culprits[1].

The year 1596 is one of the most memorable years of the reign of James VI. It was the year of that singular administrative body, known in Scottish history as the Octavians; 1596
and it was distinguished by the last, and not the least brilliant, deed of Border daring. According to Calderwood, also, the opening of this year saw the Kirk attain "its greatest purity," while its end saw the beginning of its "doleful decay."

On the death of Chancellor Thirlestane, James is reported to have said that he would appoint none to succeed him but "such as he could correct or were hangable." 1596
Though he had determined to be his own chief minister, there was, however, one department in which he appears to have felt himself helpless. From the beginning of his reign he had been in constant straits for money, and his necessities had never been greater than now. To set his finances in order, therefore, he took an important step: he appointed (Jan. 9) eight Commissioners of the Exchequer, known to the country as the "Octavians," to whom he entrusted absolute power of collecting and administering the royal revenue. The "Octavians" were all men of note in their time, but three of

> How rare a man leaves here his earthly part:
> His wisdom and his uprightness of heart,
> His piety, his practice of our state,
> His quick ingine so verst in every art,
> As equally not all were in debate.
> Thus justly hath his death brought forth of late
> An heavy grief in Prince and subjects all
> That virtue love and vice do bear at hate,
> Though vicious men rejoices at his fall,
> As for himself, most happy doth he die
> Though for his Prince it most unhappy be."

[1] *History of James the Sext*, pp. 352—4; *Reg. of Privy Council*, v. 236—8.

them rank among the most distinguished of their countrymen—Alexander Seton, Lord Urquhart, afterwards Earl of Dunfermline; Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn, afterwards Earl of Haddington, and known by the sobriquet of "Tam o' the Cowgate"; and Sir John Skene, the famous compiler of the Scottish Statutes. The whole body held office for a year, and they discharged their trust with excellent results for the royal purse. But, great as may have been their services in restoring order to the Exchequer, it is in another connection, as we shall see, that they gained notoriety among the people[1].

1596 It was in the month of April that a deed of Border daring was done, with which all Scotland rang, and which in other days would have involved a national war. On the day of truce held on the Keirhope Water on the Border line, the English, in defiance of a customary law, seized a notorious cateran, William Armstrong of Kinmont, the "Kinmont Willie" of the stirring ballad which commemorates the proceedings that followed. Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, the Scottish Warden, vehemently demanded his surrender. His demand was unheeded, and he determined to take the affair into his own hands. With a band of 200 horsemen, amply supplied with ladders and forcing tools, he crossed the Border and made for the Castle of Carlisle, where Armstrong had been secured. It was before daybreak on a misty morning that he arrived before the walls, and everything had been arranged with perfect precision. Without a life lost or injury done save the breach of the wall and the prison door, the captive was rescued and borne off triumphantly in the face of the awakened and astonished foe. "The like of sic ane vassalage," exclaims a contemporary diarist, "was never done since the memory of man, no, not in Wallace dayis." Elizabeth was indignant, and threatened James with the loss of his pension if the "bold Buccleugh" were not at once put into her hands; but the Scots maintained that, if reparation were to be made, it was the English who, as breakers of the peace, should make it first. After angry recriminations, Elizabeth receded from her demands; and, after a brief confinement in the Castle of St Andrews, Buccleuch was allowed at large, only to make fresh trouble for the angry queen[2].

[1] Calderwood, v. 393, 4; Spottiswoode, II. 466, 7; *Reg. of Privy Council*, v. 757—61.

[2] *History of James the Sext*, 366—71; Spottiswoode, III. 1—5; Birrel's *Diary*, April 6, 1596; *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, IV. 99, 100; *Cal. of English State Papers*, pp. 712—15; *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. v. *sub voce* Armstrong, William.

Since the passing of Thirlestane's great measure in favour of Presbytery in 1592, the condition of public affairs had constrained James to temporise with the Kirk. But to 1596 the Presbyterian form of Church government and the liberty of speech demanded by the ministers he was opposed by all his instincts both as a man and as a king, and he only waited a favourable opportunity of cancelling the concessions which circumstances had wrung from him. The opportunity had now come; and, in a decisive trial of strength with the leaders of the Kirk, he achieved a triumph which, in Calderwood's words, began "the doleful decay" of Presbytery in Scotland. The occasion of the conflict was the old ground of James's suspected leanings towards Rome. It had been contrary to his consistent policy that the Catholic earls had been driven from the country; and his regret for the necessity had been quickened by the fact that the Catholics of England were indignant at his treatment of their brethren in Scotland. Now that Bothwell was no longer a thorn in his side, he determined to recall the exiled earls, and he found ready support from certain of the Octavians who themselves were Catholics at heart, and were suspected to have been chosen for this very reason. When his intention became known, the ministers at once took their usual measures to defeat it: they summoned a General Assembly in March—the last Assembly, says Calderwood, which enjoyed "the liberty of the Gospel under the free government of Christ." Never, indeed, had an Assembly spoken its mind more plainly: it denounced all temporising with Papists, chid the king for his bad habit of swearing, and rebuked the queen for her neglect of divine ordinances and the general frivolity of her conduct. James, however, went steadily on his way: Huntly was permitted to return in June, and he was followed by Errol a few months later.

In the following September, at a meeting in Falkland Palace, Andrew Melville spoke those famous words which give point to Hallam's phrase "Presbyterian Hildebrandism." Telling James that he was "but God's sillie (feeble) vassal," he seized him by the sleeve and added: "Sir, as diverse tymes before, so now again I must tell you, there are two Kings and two Kingdomes in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus and his Kingdome the Kirk, whose subject King James the sixth is, and of whose Kingdome not a King, nor a head, nor a Lord, but a member." But it was not Andrew Melville who was to bring matters to a crisis. David Black, minister of St Andrews, had uttered words from the pulpit,

for which James resolved to call him to account. The question at issue between the Crown and the Kirk was thus definitely raised—was a minister subject to civil jurisdiction for what he might utter from the pulpit? Directed by a permanent council of ministers expressly constituted to meet the crisis, Black denied the competency of any but a spiritual court to try him. The answer of the king was an Act of Privy Council dissolving the standing council of ministers, ordering the departure of sixteen of their leaders from the town, and the removal of Black beyond the river Forth. By an unhappy chance for the Kirk, there were other persons besides the ministers who were interested in the issue of their conflict. The rigid economies of the Octavians had touched the pockets of the courtiers—"cubiculars," as they were called—and they saw in the present strife an opportunity of effecting the ruin of these officials. By spreading the rumour of a great Popish plot they raised the wildest apprehension among the ministers and such of the citizens as were devoted to their cause. The panic came to a head on the 17th of December—"that accursed wrathful day to the Kirk and Commonweal of Scotland." While the king and the Lords of Session were sitting in the Tolbooth, and the ministers in a neighbouring church, a cry arose that the Papists were up, and that the king and the ministers were about to be massacred. The tumult was at length stayed, but it had supplied James with precisely the weapon he needed to deal a deadly blow at his adversaries. On the ground that the ministers and citizens were responsible for the riot he quitted Edinburgh the next day, after launching an Act of Council, declaring that the town should cease to be the seat of law and, in effect, that it was no longer the capital of his kingdom[1].

The 17th of December, 1596, marks a turning-point in the reign of James VI. By his astuteness and pertinacity he turned the tumult of that day to so good account that he gradually attained to a degree of authority over all classes of his subjects such as had been acquired by no previous ruler in Scotland. From the Catholic earls he had no longer anything to fear; there was no longer a Bothwell to rally round him the disaffected elements in the country; the only section of his people who remained to be humbled were the ministers, and to this task he now addressed himself with triumphant success.

[1] Spottiswoode, III. 5—34; Calderwood, V. 387—535.

The Octavians, having served the double purpose of setting the national accounts in order, and of strengthening James's hands in his policy towards the Catholic earls, ceased to exist as a separate body. It was soon to appear that he no longer needed their assistance. It gave him at once an advantage that Edinburgh, which had been the stronghold of extreme Protestant opinion, was forced to accept the most humiliating conditions before it was restored to the royal favour; and that henceforward its citizens, though always in sympathy with their ministers, were careful not to hazard the privileges which they had once so nearly lost. But it was James's policy to carry war into the enemy's own country. In successive General Assemblies, all summoned at his own dictation, he at once undermined the Presbyterian system and broke the power of the ministers. The first of these Assemblies met at Perth on the last day of February 1597—a Convention of Estates being deliberately arranged to meet at the same date and place. It was in vain that the stauncher of the ministers protested against an Assembly of the Kirk which had not been summoned by itself. By two skilful artifices James bent the Assembly to his purpose. Before it met he had circulated a paper containing fifty-five questions, all dealing with points on which the ministers were divided among themselves. Of a permanent division in the Church he also cleverly availed himself. The ministers of the northern counties held less extreme views on the subject of spiritual jurisdiction than their brethren of the south, and had hitherto taken little part in the affairs of the Kirk: these ministers James had beaten up, and their presence in large numbers materially affected the tone of the Perth Assembly. The result of his strategy was that the Assembly was declared to have been lawfully summoned, and that by his further mandate another was summoned to meet in Dundee in the month of May. In the Dundee Assembly James gained a still more decisive advantage: the Catholic earls were absolved from the censure of the Kirk, and a standing Committee of ministers was appointed to transact ecclesiastical affairs with the king. The significance of this last arrangement was seen before the year closed. When Parliament met in December, after an interval of more than three years, the Church Commissioners, "the King's led horse," as Calderwood calls them, presented a notable petition. They demanded that ministers should have a seat and a vote in the National Assembly. The result of the petition was an Act which declared that "all ministers provided to prelacies should

1597

have a vote in Parliament." Thus in the course of a single year had James dealt a death-blow to Presbytery and prepared the way for that type of bishop, without which, as he maintained, a king was but a king in name[1].

The question naturally rises—how was it that James at this particular period was enabled to bring such pressure to bear on the Kirk? From the time when he became an actual king, he had been endeavouring to accomplish what he now effected with such apparent ease. By the overthrow of Bothwell and the Catholic earls he had doubtless greatly strengthened his authority, while, in the divisions of the ministers themselves, he found the means of weakening their ranks. But there was another cause which receives the most cogent illustration from all the critical periods of Scottish ecclesiastical history. Alike in its beginnings and in its later developments, Protestantism in Scotland held its ground and made its way by the combined action of the clergy and the nobles. But precisely at this moment there was not a single noble of ability and authority who took his stand on the side of the Presbyterian party. From the death in 1588 of Archibald, Earl of Angus ("the ministers' king," as James called him), James Melville declared that there was not a Scottish noble with whom he could hold friendly converse on religion[2]. The explanation of this defection is not far to seek. In 1587, it will be remembered, an Act of Parliament had been passed for the annexation to the Crown of the temporalities of benefices. What became of those temporalities Archbishop Spottiswoode tells us plainly: they were begged from the king, and given to the followers of the Court[3]. A half-century later the nobles once more rallied to the side of the Kirk for motives not unmixed with those which had led them to desert it.

1598

The continued dealings of James with the Church are the most important part of his policy during his remaining years in Scotland, for on the success or failure of that policy depended the future of Scotland and England alike. The year 1598 saw a still further advance towards the ends at which he was aiming. By the Act of the previous December it had been decreed that ministers appointed to bishoprics should have the right to vote

[1] Calderwood, v. 606—73; Spottiswoode, III. 41—68; *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, IV. 123—57; *Reg. of Privy Council*, Vol. V. pp. lx. *et seq.*

[2] James Melville, *Diary* (Ban. Club), p. 211.

[3] Spottiswoode, II. 376, 7. Professor Masson has given a list of the grants of these temporalities.—*Reg. of Privy Council*, Vol. XV. pp. cxliv.—cxlvii.

in Parliament; and an Assembly that met in March at Dundee gave its sanction to the decree. By a majority of ten it decided that ministers should sit in Parliament, but that their number should be about fifty-one, and that they should be chosen partly by the king and partly by the Kirk. An extraordinary Ecclesiastical Convention that met at Falkland in the month of July took one step further. It was agreed that, when a Prelacy fell vacant, the Kirk should name six, or, if necessary twelve persons, as might be found necessary, and that the final election should lie with the king. Yet so formidable was the opposition to the manifest intentions of James that he had still to pick his steps warily. The title of bishop was carefully avoided, that of commissioner taking its place; and the office was hedged round by so many conditions that it seemed hardly incompatible with the idea of Presbytery[1].

On the death of Chancellor Thirlestane James had declared that he would appoint to his office only such a person as he could conveniently hang. After an interval of more than three years (Jan. 1599) he chose as Thirlestane's successor, John Graham, third Earl of Montrose, grandfather of the great Marquis. As Graham's chancellorship suggested the application of the line "Et Bibulo memini consule nil fieri," it would seem that James had kept his word. The resuscitation of the Chancellorship at least made no change in any part of his policy. As Montrose had leanings towards Rome, he was in full sympathy with his master's dealings with the Kirk. During the year 1599 the great conflict between Presbytery and Episcopacy was allowed to slumber; but on minor matters there was no abatement of the friction between the king and the ministers. James's well-known book, the "Basilicon Doron," in which we have the full-blown Stewart conception of the royal prerogative in Church and State, was on the eve of publication, and an early copy had been seen by one of the ministers. When he reported its contents to certain of his brethren, they extracted some of its propositions, sent them to the king, and requested his opinion of them. James's reply was an order for the arrest of the minister who had surreptitiously possessed himself of his book. In the month of September the king and the ministers were pitted against each other in an interesting case. A company of English actors, of whom it has been conjectured that Shakespeare may have been one, appeared in Edinburgh, and received such countenance from the king that he set apart a special

1599

[1] Calderwood, v. 682—709; Spottiswoode, III. 68—75.

house for their performances. Great was the commotion among the ministers; and, though their authority was not what it had been, they could not remain passive in the presence of such a visitation. At a meeting of the four Kirk sessions of the town, on the triple ground that the plays performed were indecent, that they were given on the Sabbath, and that the acting of such plays was condemned by Act of Parliament, they forbade the citizens to frequent them. But it was now brought home to them on what evil days they had fallen: on a peremptory order of the king they were forced to rescind their decree. A few years earlier they would have had the city at their back, but since the tumult of the 17th of December the citizens were in no humour to try conclusions with the king[1].

1599 A novel enterprise which belongs to the autumn of the same year brings once more before us the condition of the Western Highlands and Islands. Since the expedition of James V in 1540, which had resulted in the annexation of the Lordship of the Isles to the Crown, there had been no great combined movement in these districts such as had alarmed so many successive kings of Scotland. The final alienation of the Island Lordship deprived the clans of the one common object which could unite them in common action; and thenceforward their history is confined to petty conflicts between rival chieftains which never affected the national security. It is to the credit of James that he took up the task of restoring order in the Highlands and Islands to which James IV and James V had addressed themselves with such energy and success. In his dealings with the inhabitants there was much impolicy and much injustice; but by the close of his reign they had been reduced to a state of obedience and tranquillity unknown at any previous time. By several Acts of Parliament James had already taken steps towards this end. In 1587 an Act, known as the "General Bond," had decreed that chieftains and others in authority should find security for the peaceable behaviour of those for whom they were responsible; and in 1598 it was enacted that all landowners should produce their title-deeds, and that three royal burghs should be erected in Cantire,

[1] *Reg. of Privy Council*, v. pp. lxxxii. 516; Calderwood, v. 744—67; Spottiswoode, III. 80, 81. Pascal has exactly expressed the views of the ministers with regard to the drama, "Tous les grands divertissements sont dangereux pour la vie chrétienne; mais, entre tous ceux que le monde a inventés, il n'y en a point qui soit plus à craindre que la comédie. C'est une représentation si naturelle et si délicate des passions, qu'elle les émeute et les fait naître dans notre cœur."

Lochaber, and the island of Lewis respectively. The Macleods of Lewis apparently failed to produce their title-deeds; and in the most high-handed fashion the island was taken over by the king, who had a novel scheme in his head for civilising these parts of his dominions. He granted the island to a number of persons, known as "gentlemen adventurers of Fife," who were to hold it rent-free for the first seven years. The adventurers proceeded to their destination in October 1599; but their enterprise was unhappy in its beginnings and disastrous in its close. Soon after their arrival many died from disease and the rigour of the winter; and one of them, Learmonth of Balcomy, while approaching the Orkneys on his voyage home, was himself taken prisoner and several of his crew butchered. For a time, however, the colonists were fairly prosperous: they came to a temporary understanding with the natives, and they built what was described as "a pretty town"; but the sequel of the enterprise belongs to a later period of James's reign, and there the story will be more fitly told[1].

VIII. The Gowrie Conspiracy.

The outstanding event of the year 1600 was the sensational incident known as the "Gowrie Conspiracy," which resulted in the temporary ruin of the powerful House of Ruthven and a still further increase of James's authority. The House of Ruthven had already played a notable part in Scottish history: the grandfather of the living earl was Patrick, Lord Ruthven, notorious as one of the assassins of Riccio; and his father was that first Earl of Gowrie who had been the main author of the Ruthven Raid, which had eventually brought him to the scaffold. The young Earl of Gowrie possessed all the attributes of a hero of romance. He was about twenty-two years old, stately in manner, handsome in person and disposed to solitude and meditation. He had studied at Padua and at Geneva, and had returned with a reputation for learning, which, associated with his secluded habits and the traditionary repute of his House, had already marked him as a trafficker in forbidden arts. He had not been three months in Scotland before the event took place which resulted in the tragic end of himself and his brother, Alexander, the Master of Ruthven.

1600

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, III. 462, IV. 138, 9; Calderwood, V. 736; *Reg. of Privy Council*, V. 467, 8, 489; Birrel's *Diary*.

For the details of the story we have only the narrative which James gave to the world and pertinaciously insisted on his subjects accepting.

According to that narrative, James was in the Park of Falkland between six and seven in the morning of the 5th of August and on the point of mounting his horse for a day's hunting, when he was accosted by Gowrie's brother, the Master of Ruthven. The evening before, Ruthven told him, he had met a man in Perth with a pot of gold under his cloak, and deeming him a suspicious person, had placed him in ward in a private house, without the knowledge of his brother, the earl; and his errand to James was that he should come to Perth at once and investigate the affair. At the close of the hunt, about eleven in the forenoon, James, without returning to the Palace, rode to Perth accompanied by Ruthven and a small body of attendants, among whom were the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven went on ahead to inform his brother of his Majesty's coming; and at the extremity of the Inch the earl appeared at the head of some sixty or eighty men. Apparently the royal visit was unexpected, as the dinner provided was both poor and late. The meal over, the master conducted the king up a stair, and passing through several apartments, the doors of which he carefully locked, he at length led him into a "little study," the door of which was also locked on their entry. Here James found himself face to face with a man not in bonds as he had expected, but one with his limbs free and a dagger at his girdle, though with "a very abased countenance." Seizing the man's dagger, Ruthven held it to the king's breast, threatening that if he uttered a cry or offered to open the window he would stab him to the heart, and adding that James had now occasion to remember the murder of his captor's father. On "his majesty's persuasive language," however, Ruthven changed his tone, declared that his life would be safe if he would conduct himself quietly, and that for the moment he would leave him and call his brother the earl. As he quitted the apartment, he charged the man at his peril to keep his prisoner safe. The man, however, was more frightened than his Majesty, and "became a slave to his presence." After a brief absence Ruthven returned in great agitation, and declared there was no help for it and that James must die. On his attempting to bind the king's hands a struggle ensued, in which James dragged his antagonist to the window, which had been opened by the man during Ruthven's absence, and

from which he now shouted for help. At this very moment James's followers were leaving the house on the earl's allegation that their master had already gone, but on hearing his cries they rushed back to his assistance. Sir John Ramsay, finding his way into the "little study," slew the Master of Ruthven while still struggling with the king, and a few moments later the earl met the same fate. The citizens of Perth, learning the death of the earl, who was the provost of their town, were disposed to take strong measures for his revenge, but after repeated explanations of the king from the window they were at length persuaded to return to their homes.

Such was the singular story which James gave to the world, and which he insisted that his subjects should believe on the penalty of high treason. It was received with a smile of incredulity alike in Scotland, England and on the Continent. In his own kingdom, however, he took effectual means to check all expression of scepticism. The ministers of Edinburgh were ordered to declare from their pulpits their belief in the king's story; and such pressure was brought to bear upon them that, with the exception of one, they were constrained to bear their unwilling testimony. The exception was Robert Bruce, after Andrew Melville the most influential minister in the Kirk, who for his conscientious scruples was pursued by James with a petty and persistent malice which revealed the most contemptible traits in his character. But the full brunt of his vengeance fell on the family of the alleged conspirators. By an Act of Parliament, passed in December, it was declared that the name of Ruthven was henceforth abolished, that the family arms were cancelled and their lands confiscated to the Crown[1].

To complete the story of the so-called Gowrie Plot we have to pass to the year 1608, when the world was led to believe that the mystery was at length to be made clear, and the king's good faith established. There was then produced a notary of Eyemouth, by name George Sprott, who was alleged to have been privy to a treasonable conspiracy between the Earl of Gowrie and Robert Logan of Restalrig. Sprott was found guilty and condemned to death, but his examination left the mystery as dark as ever. A letter from Logan to Gowrie, which was not produced at the trial, is so vague in its terms that no definite meaning can be attached to it. What seemed more conclusive was the fact that Sprott

[1] Calderwood, VI. 27—98; Spottiswoode, III. 84—91; *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, IV. 199.

when on the scaffold confessed his guilt in concealing the Gowrie Conspiracy. Yet of the worth of Sprott's testimony Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was one of his judges and highly favourable to the king, could write as follows: "Whether or not I should mention the arraignment and execution of George Sprott, Notary in Eyemouth, who suffered in August, I am doubtful; his confession, though voluntary and constant, carrying small probability[1]."

From the evidence that has come down to us there emerges only a balance of probabilities regarding the motives and intentions of the chief actors in the tragedy of Gowrie House. On the one hand it is alleged that the object of the two brothers in decoying the king to Perth was to get possession of his person and overturn the Government, as their father had done in the affair of the Ruthven Raid. In support of this view it may be contended that there was a hereditary feud between James and the Ruthven family: Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was one of the murderers of Riccio and the enemy of James's mother; and James had sent the first Earl of Gowrie to the scaffold as a traitor. On the other hand, it may be urged that James lied so copiously at every period of his life that no asseveration on his own part can be accepted as a guarantee for his veracity. The position of affairs in the country renders it highly improbable that the two youths, the eldest only twenty-two, should have conceived the wild scheme which James attributed to them. In effecting the Ruthven Raid their father had the support of many of the most powerful nobles; but the two brothers could reckon on no such support, for, as the history of the last few years had shown, James was now all but absolute master of his kingdom. Moreover, in James's own story, and in the accounts of the criminal proceedings that followed, there are at once improbabilities, discrepancies and proved falsehoods which raise the gravest suspicion. That James was false and cruel and vindictive many actions of his life place beyond doubt; and it is to be noted that he had special reasons besides traditional hatred for seeking the ruin of Gowrie. On an important occasion he had been withstood by Gowrie in the Convention of Estates—a kind of offence which James never forgave; and he was in Gowrie's debt to the extent of £80,000, a sum which in the state of his Exchequer must grow more onerous with every year of his reign[2].

[1] Calderwood, VI. 778—80; Spottiswoode, III. 199, 200.

[2] *Cal. of State Papers*, 783; *Reg. of Privy Council*, Vol. VI. *sub voce* Gowrie; Arnot, *Criminal Trials* (1785). Mr Louis A. Barbé has given an admirable account of

The year 1600 was memorable for other things beside the Gowrie Conspiracy, for it saw the final triumph of James over the Kirk. A General Assembly that met at Montrose in March gave its sanction to the arrangement by which certain ministers, to be known as Commissioners, were to have a seat and a vote in Parliament. The affair of Gowrie, like the tumult of the 17th of December, had the most important results in increasing James's ascendency over the ministers. In spite of their vehement protests he had compelled them, with the exception of Bruce, to make public statement of their belief in his story of the conspiracy. He was not slow to make use of his victory. In October the standing Ecclesiastical Commission met in Holyrood, and at James's dictation took the definitive step of appointing three diocesan bishops to the sees of Ross, Aberdeen and Caithness —the only three of the ancient sees the temporalities of which were not in the hands of laymen. When, less than three years later, James left his native country, he could boast that Presbytery was at an end in Scotland—its forms abolished and the spirit of its champions crushed. It was to be seen at a later day how lamentably he had misunderstood his countrymen, and what an evil heritage he had bequeathed to his successors and to their subjects[1]. 1600

The absorbing preoccupation of James during his last years in Scotland was the question of his accession to the English throne. The death of Elizabeth could not now be far off, and still she had not designated him as her successor. We have seen how in the early years of his reign he had sought to ensure his election in every contingency—how he had intrigued with his mother, with Philip II, with Guise, with the Pope, with the Catholics of England, and with the Catholics of Scotland. It may be said, indeed, that till the day when he received the intimation of his recognition by the English Privy Council as their king, his public policy and his private intrigues were unremittingly directed towards the one end. In his own kingdom he had made the ground perfectly secure. He had conciliated his Catholic nobles, he had mastered the Presbyterian clergy, while, as the result of his victory, he had, in a large degree, assimilated the Church of Scotland to the Church of England, and 1600—1603

the whole Gowrie affair in his *Tragedy of Gowrie House* (Gardner, 1887). Mr Barbé considers James's published story of what took place at Gowrie House to have been largely the product of his own invention.

[1] Calderwood, VI. 96.

had made his powers as a King of Scots commensurate with those of the Tudor monarchy. Should he attain his desire, therefore, he would be the ruler of two kingdoms which might be readily cast into a homogeneous whole. In England itself he had a difficult game to play, for he had to secure at once the support of Elizabeth's Catholic and Protestant subjects. In the case of the former he followed the same tactics as in the earlier period of his reign; he amused the Catholic powers with the hope that, when the fitting occasion came, he would show himself to be a true son of the Church. In 1595 he sent one of his Catholic subjects, John Ogilvie of Powry, with instructions to effect an understanding with Philip of Spain[1]; and in 1598 he wrote a letter to the Pope accompanied with instructions to his agent to make such advances as policy might dictate[2]. As a result of this manœuvring, James, when he actually became ruler of England, found his Catholic subjects disposed to welcome his accession as a propitious day for their Church. With the leading Protestants in England James was in assiduous communication, and by bribes and promises left no means untried to assure himself of their support. When the Earl of Essex was in the ascendant, James took care to conciliate him by friendly though cautious overtures; and on Essex's fall he made sure of the younger Cecil, whom as Elizabeth's most powerful minister it was his special interest to gain over. As Elizabeth's end drew near, the world gradually realised that by the converging force of things the King of Scots was marked as her inevitable successor[3].

Two events of the time immediately preceding James's accession in England deserve a passing mention—both of them characteristic of so much of Scottish history. On the 7th of February, 1603, occurred "The Slaughter in the Lennox," or as it is otherwise known, "The Conflict of Glenfruin," one of the most atrocious incidents even in the records of the Highlands. Some four hundred of the Macgregors and other clans burst into the Lennox, and after a desperate contest, in which about eighty of the Lennox men fell, made off with six hundred cattle, eight hundred sheep, two hundred

[1] *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, Vol. I. *Documents Illustrating Catholic Policy in the Reign of James VI*, edited by Thomas Graves Law.

[2] Calderwood, V. 740—4, VI. 789 *et seq.* James disclaimed the authorship of this letter, and Sir James Elphinstone, his Secretary of State, assumed the responsibility for it—thereby entailing his own ruin. There can be little doubt that James wrote the letter. As we have seen (*ante* pp. 193—4), it was not the first time that James had written to the Pope.

[3] *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI of Scotland*, Edin. 1766; *Letters and State Papers during the reign of James the Sixth* (Abbotsford Club).

Gold Ducat of Francis and Mary (1558).

Testoon (Silver) of Mary (1561).

Twenty-Pound Piece (Gold) of James VI (1576).

and eighty horses, together with such other booty as they could transport. It was an evil day for the Clan Gregor. They had already given much trouble in the past, but their slaughter in the Lennox was never forgiven by James. Henceforward he pursued them with a relentless hostility and with the result that they became "the Clan that has a name that is nameless by day[1]." The other event was of happier omen. It is to James's credit that he had all along endeavoured to heal those feuds between his great nobles which had wrought such lamentable results in the past history of his kingdom. Between several of his lords he now effected a reconciliation which occasioned general rejoicing among his subjects. The long quarrel between Huntly and Argyle was made up by the betrothal of the son of the one to the daughter of the other. In the queen's attempts to obtain the custody of the heir of the Crown from the Earl of Mar, she had had the support of the Duke of Lennox, but Lennox and Mar were now induced to lay aside their differences. Happiest of all, however, was the reconciliation of Moray and Huntly, whose feuds had more than once brought the country to the brink of civil war[2].

The prize at which James had so long grasped at length dropped into his hands. On the night of Saturday, March 24, 1603, Sir Robert Carey, having ridden from London in less than three days, brought the news to Holyrood that the Queen of England was dead; and two days later came an official announcement from the Privy Council that James had been declared her successor. On Sunday, the 3rd of April, he bade a characteristic farewell to his subjects at the close of the preacher's discourse. "Think not of me," he said, "as of a King going from one part to another; but as a King lawfully called, going from one part of the isle to the other, that so your comfort may be greater. And where I thought to have employed you with some armour, now I employ only your hearts to the good prospering of me in my success and journey." On the 5th of April he took his journey southwards, arriving at Berwick the following day. He left his ancient kingdom under a promise to revisit it every three years: in point of fact, during the twenty-two years he was still to reign, he was only once to see it again[3].

[1] Calderwood, VI. 204; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, II. 432; *Reg. of Privy Council*, Vol. VI. *sub voce* Glenfruin.

[2] Calderwood, VI. 205.

[3] Calderwood, VI. 215—23; Spottiswoode, III. 134—9.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES VI (*continued*), 1603—1625.

I. Establishment of Episcopacy: Negotiations for Parliamentary Union.

The accession of James VI to the throne of England is far more than a mere chronological landmark in Scottish history: in the two main concerns of a nation it effected a decisive breach with the past. Scotland ceased at once to have independent relations with any foreign country, and to possess an independent legislature at home. Throughout the 16th century foreign relations had made up a large part of the national history: to understand the reigns of James IV and his immediate successors the movements of the great continental nations must always be before our eyes. But from the Union of the Crowns the sole business of Scotland with foreign countries was to contribute men and money towards whatever policy her predominant partner might choose to adopt[1]. In her constitutional history the removal of James to England marks an equally decisive change. In the 15th century Sir John Fortescue could write of the King of Scots that he "may not rule his people by other laws than such as they assent unto." About four years after James had left Scotland he could use these words in addressing the English Parliament: "This I must say for Scotland, and may truly vaunt it: here I sit and govern it with my pen: I write and it is done; and by a Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now,—which others could not do by the sword." That this was not an idle boast the record of his reign conclusively shows. His successive Parliaments were packed with persons of his own choice; they were managed by officials removeable at his will; and their function was in large degree but to register his commands. The Assemblies of the Church, which had once so efficiently discharged the duties of a Parliament, were similarly convened at his pleasure; and their work was prescribed and determined before they met. It

[1] Hence there is no further need for giving lists of contemporary foreign princes at the beginning of each reign.

was through the Scottish Privy Council that James exercised those powers, which made him all but absolute master of the country. The Privy Council had come to be at once a legislative, an executive, and a judicial body; and as its various officials were the mere nominees of the king, all its powers were at his unlimited disposal. But not only the Parliament, the Privy Council, and the General Assembly were the instruments of his pleasure: the leading Scottish Burghs had to take their commands from him, and to appoint their civic rulers at his simple bidding. The cause of this domination of the Crown has already been noted: for the first time in the national history the baronage as a whole was acting in concert with the king. The reason for this common action has also been stated: by the lavish distribution of the property of the ancient Church James had bound the most powerful nobles by ties which they were not likely soon to break. The gifts of Church lands[1] increased rather than diminished after James's removal to England; and it was through this wholesale bribery, rather than through the increased resources which came to him from that country, that he was enabled to rule Scotland as no king had ruled it before him.

In James's policy for the amalgamation of his two kingdoms the assimilation of the English and Scottish Churches still held the first place in his thoughts. Before he left Scotland he had already made great way towards this end; but much still remained to be done before the Scottish people and their ministers were fitted to the precise ecclesiastical pattern he had devised for them. The history of the twenty-two years during which James was still to govern Scotland is mainly the history of his pertinacious endeavour to accomplish this object. Through the agency of successive Parliaments and General Assemblies he all but attained his purpose, though before the close of his reign he was taught by unmistakeable signs that the edifice he had reared rested on sand.

The history of the ecclesiastical policy of James subsequent to 1603 is divisible into two well-defined periods. Till 1612 his governing aim was the establishment of diocesan episcopacy, a result which that year saw definitely attained. From 1612 till his death his insistence on the acceptance of certain rites and doctrines by the Scottish Church was his absorbing interest in his ancient kingdom. It is with the first of these periods that we have to deal in the present section.

[1] For a list of these gifts see Professor Masson's *Introduction to the Privy Council Register*, Vol. I. (Second Series), pp. cxliv—cxlvii.

1603—1604

At the famous Hampton Court Conference held in January, 1604, James left his subjects of both kingdoms in no doubt as to his ecclesiastical predilections. When the word Presbytery was mentioned in the course of the conference, he testily explained that Presbytery "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil." The Presbyterians of Scotland were soon to learn that James's removal to England had not weakened his determination to make as short work as possible of their ecclesiastical system. So long, however, as the Scottish Church retained the privilege of calling its own Assemblies, it was secure against every assault. This privilege had been guaranteed by the Act of 1592, and we have seen that James had already had some success in setting it aside. But to make that Act a dead letter was absolutely necessary for the success of his whole Church policy in Scotland. On this point the main battle was now fought between James and the ministers. As in previous contests between the same parties, it was the Synod of Fife that stood forward as the boldest asserter of the Church's right. A Parliament had been appointed to meet in April; and the Synod craved that in accordance with ancient custom a General Assembly should meet before it. The answer was that on the present occasion a General Assembly would not be necessary, as the coming Parliament would deal with nothing in which the Church had any interest[1]. James's intentions were speedily revealed. In the last General Assembly that had met before his departure (Nov. 1602) it had been arranged that its next meeting should be held at Aberdeen in July, 1604. When July came, it brought the announcement that it was the king's will that there should be no meeting of Assembly at that time. On the day appointed for the Aberdeen Assembly three ministers from the Presbytery of St Andrews appeared in the town and lodged a protest against the wrong done to the Church; and in the following months the general dissatisfaction was loudly expressed alike in ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the ministers. A peremptory order from James in September forbade such meetings as against the laws of the kingdom[2].

1605—1606

Thus for more than two years no General Assembly met—a circumstance unprecedented since the Reformation. In July, 1605, however, it was understood that the long-deferred Assembly would at length meet. Great, therefore, was

[1] Calderwood, VI. 257.

[2] *Ibid.* 264—7; *P. C. Register*, VII. 13, 14.

the general dismay, when in June the Privy Council passed an Act declaring every person an outlaw who should appear in such an Assembly. Undeterred by this threat, nineteen ministers appeared at Aberdeen on the appointed day and formally constituted themselves the highest court of the Church. On the same day, Andrew Straiton, laird of Lauriston, read a letter from the Privy Council conveying from James the double command that the meeting should at once dissolve, and that it should not take upon itself to appoint a General Assembly without his concurrence. The devoted nineteen agreed to disperse; but they had at least had the satisfaction of maintaining their testimony: they *had* constituted themselves an Assembly, and they had fixed the last Tuesday of September as the meeting-day of the next. A few days later ten other ministers, who had been delayed by stress of weather, appeared in the town, and publicly identified themselves with the action of their brethren[1].

Left to itself, the Scottish Privy Council would have preferred that no further proceedings should be taken against the offending ministers. The members of the Council knew that the feeling of the country was against the king, and they had a well-grounded apprehension as to the possible results of the royal action. James, however, thwarted in schemes which were so dear to him, was furious at the defiant ministers and determined that they should feel the weight of his hand. Their trial and chastisement were entrusted to the Privy Council,—Sir Thomas Hope, King's Advocate, taking on himself the burden of the business. Of the twenty-nine ministers who had appeared at Aberdeen only thirteen[2] stood to their protest, and these flatly denied the competency of the Council to try them in a spiritual matter. The trial began in October (1605)—the ministers being brought to Edinburgh from the respective prisons to which they had been consigned. Their condemnation was a foregone conclusion, and they were sent back to their confinement to await the sentence which his Majesty should be pleased to award them. To the dismay of the Council, an order came from James enjoining a new trial of the prisoners on a charge of high treason for their refusal to recognise the competency of the Civil Court. In point of fact only six of their number were brought to the bar. To secure a verdict in accordance with the

[1] Calderwood, VI. 279—84; *P. C. Reg.*, VII. 62.

[2] A fourteenth, Mr Robert Youngson of Clatt, subsequently took his place with them. Calderwood, VI. 284.

king's desire, no pains were spared. The place of trial was removed to Linlithgow, as the sympathies of Edinburgh might have proved dangerous; Dunbar, the High Treasurer, was sent down from London, to use all his abilities and influence; and the fifteen jurors who were to deal with the case were subjected to threats and bribes which made their office a mockery. The trial took place on the 10th of January, 1606, and the six were found guilty, though in spite of the influence of the Crown, only nine of the jurors concurred in the verdict. The proceedings had been scandalous throughout, and it was doubtless with heartfelt disgust that the Lord Advocate prayed his Majesty to try his Council "with as few essayes in the lyke caisses as may possiblie stand with the weill" of his "Maiesties service[1]."

1606

While the ministers were thus proving so intractable, James had found the Scottish Estates somewhat more ready to give effect to his wishes. In July, 1606, a Parliament had met at Perth[2], the performances of which gave him special satisfaction. By one of its Acts it declared that his prerogative extended "over all estates, persons, and causes whatsoever"—an admission which James did not fail to flourish in the face of his subjects. Another Act, entitled the *Restitution of the Estate of Bishops*, rescinded the measure of 1587, fatal to Episcopacy in Scotland, which had annexed all ecclesiastical property to the Crown. But till the clergy as a whole were bent to his will, James's schemes could not come to their full fruition. It was by striking at their leaders that he sought to effect this end. We have seen how he dealt with the ministers who had appeared at Aberdeen; another proceeding was to the full as high-handed and unjust. On the pretext that he wished to confer with them on the affairs of the Church he summoned eight of the leading ministers—Andrew and James Melville being among them—to England. The eight went south in August, when James's real intentions were soon revealed. None of their number gave satisfaction on the points he had most at heart, but the two Melvilles were specially distasteful by reason of their great influence among their brethren. While, after a delay of some eight months, six of the ministers were allowed to return to Scotland, the two Melvilles were more strictly dealt with. James

[1] Calderwood, VI. 374—91; *P. C. Reg.*, VII. 82 *et seq.*; *Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland*, p. 33.

[2] Known as the "Red Parliament," because, in accordance with James's order, the nobles appeared in scarlet robes.

was permitted to reside in the north of England, but forbidden to cross the Border, and remained an exile till his death. To the offence of dissenting from the king on points of Church government Andrew Melville had added the iniquity of a stinging epigram on the papistical tendencies of the English Church. For three years, by a monstrous stretch of the prerogative, he was kept in the Tower; and, when at length he was set at liberty, it was to live in exile as a professor in the Protestant college of Sedan in France. While the eight ministers were passing through these experiences in London, the fate of their six brethren who were under sentence of high treason had likewise been determined. At two o'clock on a stormy October morning, accompanied to the shore by their friends and relatives singing the 23rd Psalm, they were put aboard a ship at Leith, which was to bear them to lifelong exile[1].

1604—1607

While James had thus been engaged in these dealings with the Church, he had been simultaneously pressing a scheme which did greater credit to his head and heart. This was a scheme for an incorporating union of the two countries which would have anticipated by a century the great measure of Queen Anne. Neither English nor Scots responded very cordially to their king's desire for such fraternal co-operation. Enemies for centuries, their closer acquaintance with each other had not heightened their mutual affection. The spectacle of needy Scots flocking southward, appropriating wealth and capturing lucrative offices, had stirred the jealousy and wrath of all Englishmen; and the Scots on their side keenly resented the gibes freely passed on their national pride and poverty. Regardless of these antagonisms, James gave orders to the Parliaments of both countries to address themselves to the measure. In 1604 the first step was taken—the English Parliament appointing forty-four Commissioners, and the Scottish thirty-one, to draw up the terms of union. Apart from the action of the Parliaments, James did what he thought lay in his own power to hasten the consummation of his great scheme. For the name of the "Borders," which implied separation, he substituted that of the "Middle Shires"; England and Scotland were thenceforward to be "Great Britain"; coins were to be struck in commemoration of the happy union; and one flag quartered with the crosses of St Andrew and St George was to be the symbol of both countries.

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 281—4; Calderwood, VI. 589 *et seq.*, *Orig. Letters*, 368*.

In October (1604), the Commissioners met, and entrusted Bacon and Lord Advocate Hamilton with the task of embodying their conclusions. Of these conclusions the most important were the abrogation of mutually hostile laws, including those of the Borders; free trade between both countries; and the satisfactory arrangement of foreign commercial relations. It now remained for the two Parliaments to deal with the report of their Commissioners, but it was not till the year 1607 that they addressed themselves seriously to their task. The report fared badly at the hands of the English Parliament. The opposition was all but universal—the members who represented commercial communities being specially hostile. Hard things were said of Scotland and its people; England was a rich pasture, threatened by an invasion of famished cattle—the famished cattle being the needy Scots: these same Scots were murderers, thieves, and rogues, who had allowed but two of their kings to die in their beds during the last two hundred years. When in July the English Parliament had done its work, the proposal for the abrogation of "hostile laws" alone had received its sanction. In August of the same year (1607) the Scottish Parliament took up the report in a more amicable spirit: if England would meet them half-way they were willing to accept it in its entirety. At the same time they gave James to understand that it was more to please him than themselves that they had adopted this conclusion. England being unwilling to meet the Scots half-way, James's scheme of an incorporating union fell to the ground. The abrogation of the hostile laws, common citizenship for Scottish and English subjects born after the Union of the Crowns[1]; and the appointment of a Commissioner to represent the king in Scotland—such were the only definite results of the long negotiations. James's scheme had been conceived with the best intentions, and it had the cordial support of the greatest intellect of the age, Sir Francis Bacon; yet it is open to doubt whether the time was ripe for such a coalescence of the two peoples. Such was their mutual repugnance that, had the union been achieved, it might have led to a degree of international friction that would have delayed the Act of Queen Anne for more centuries than one[2].

[1] These persons were known as the "Post-nati." Colvill's case (1607) settled the question in English Law: see Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, i. 355.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 263, 280, 285, 366; *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. VII.; *Parliamentary History of England*, I. 1081—98.

In the matter of the Union James could not compel the English Parliament to do his bidding: with his ecclesiastical policy in Scotland his task was easier, and he had it mainly in his own hands. We have seen how sorely stricken Presbyterianism was by the autumn of 1606. Six of the leading ministers were in exile; the two Melvilles and their six brethren were under James's eye in England; and over twenty, who were allowed to remain in Scotland, were either under suspicion or sequestered from their parishes. Before the close of the year James struck another heavy blow. In December a convention of ministers, designated by James himself, met at Linlithgow and gave birth to a notable scheme. Over the fifty-three Presbyteries into which the country was subdivided "constant moderators" were to be appointed—for the good order of the Church, as James maintained; to be his ready tools, in the opinion of the country. The year 1607 was devoted to the execution of the new scheme, and with an addition that showed the ardour of the king's zeal. In April it was announced to the astonished nation that the Linlithgow General Assembly, as James uniformly styled it, had ordained that there should be constant moderators not only of Presbyteries but of Synods as well. Constant moderators of synods virtually meant diocesan episcopacy; and the opposition, which had been active before, now became so vehement that James's lay advisers were greatly alarmed[1]. 1606—1607

It is not till June 1609 that we note another decisive step towards the advancement of Prelacy. In a Parliament which met at Edinburgh in that month the bishops were clothed with further powers[2]. By one Act they were empowered to return an annual list of the excommunicated persons within their respective dioceses to the Treasurer and Director of the Chancellory—an inquisition susceptible of the most dangerous abuse; and by another they received complete jurisdiction in cases of wills and divorces. But it was the year 1610 that saw James's boldest advance towards the end at which he was so pertinaciously aiming. In February of that year, by a stroke of his pen he imposed upon Scotland two Courts of High Commission for the punishment of ecclesiastical offences[3]. The history of the similar 1609—1610

[1] Calderwood, VI. 604—29; *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. VII.

[2] It is to be noted that there were now eleven bishops and two archbishops in Scotland—precisely the number in the pre-Reformation Church.

[3] They were united in 1615. Calderwood, VII. 204—10.

institution in England might have shown James the dangerous path he was treading. This very year the English Parliament keenly protested against the intolerable grievance of such a Court; and its continued existence, it has been said, was "among the most efficient causes of the quarrel between the monarchy and the nation[1]." The powers assigned to the Scottish Courts were as comprehensive and as galling as those of England. Each of them was to have an Archbishop for its president and was to consist of clergy and laity—five constituting a quorum. All the lieges were to be subject to its jurisdiction; offences "in life or religion" were to be its special province; and fines and imprisonment the means of enforcing its authority. As in England, it was the arbitrary action, the vaguely defined powers, the undue severity of these Courts that came to make them a byword for tyrannous oppression with the Scottish people[2].

It had always been James's policy to make it appear that his ecclesiastical action had the approval of the Church itself; and he now issued his orders that a General Assembly should meet at Glasgow in the month of June. We have seen how the clerical convention at Linlithgow was manipulated to his purpose; but the forthcoming meeting at Glasgow required still more careful coaxing. "By fair means" or "by threatenings" the refractory ministers were to be brought to their duty. The means taken towards this end were sufficiently persuasive. The two archbishops were charged to specify to each Presbytery the persons whom they were to send as their representatives to Glasgow. Even this seemingly adequate arrangement was deemed insufficient to make things secure. "It is our pleasure," wrote James to his commissioner, the Earl of Dunbar, "that against this ensuing Assembly to be kept at our city of Glasgow you shall have in readiness the sum of ten thousand merks Scottish money to be divided and dealt among such persons as you shall hold fitting by the advice of the Archbishop of St Andrews and Glasgow[3]." These various inducements had the desired results: by this Glasgow Assembly it has been said, "Presbytery, thing and name," was "voted to be at an end in Scotland[4]." General Assemblies, it was concluded, were to be summoned at the king's

[1] Prothero, *Select Statutes and Documents illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, pp. xli, xliii, 302.

[2] Calderwood, VII. 57—62.

[3] *P. C. Reg.*, VIII. 844.

[4] Professor Masson, *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. VIII., p. xxviii.

pleasure; and the machinery of the Church was so adjusted that the bishops should have full diocesan powers—the bishops themselves being the nominees of the king. In this last circumstance James was aware of a flaw, which he also set himself to remedy. He had clothed his Scottish bishops with all the external requisites of their office, but he could not supply the virtue necessary to constitute them the accredited successors of Christ and the apostles. Unfortunately this virtue had been forfeited by the principles on which the Scottish Reformation had been carried out. The ingenious mind of James, however, hit upon a happy expedient. Archbishop Spottiswoode and two of his colleagues were summoned to England, and there received the necessary spiritual touch from three English bishops[1], which in due course they imparted to their brethren in Scotland[2].

Still another step remained to be taken before Episcopacy could be recognised as the legalised polity of the national Church. By its Act of 1592 Parliament had declared Presbyterianism to be the polity of the Scottish Church: by Parliament, therefore, this sanction must be undone. But, as things now went in Scotland, this was of easy attainment. To pack the Estates was a simpler matter than to pack a General Assembly. The Parliament which met in October, 1612, readily did the work for which it had been specially summoned: it ratified the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly in favour of Episcopacy, and even contrived to extend the episcopal jurisdiction in the process[3]. Thus, by the close of 1612, had James succeeded in fashioning the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland to the only pattern which was consistent with his notion of the royal prerogative. Yet, as time was to show, the work had been unwisely done, and rested on no stable basis of national conviction. His own tyranny and the ambition of worldly ecclesiastics had made the very name of bishop a byword among the masses of the people. There were many thoughtful men who were convinced that the episcopal system was the natural framework of a society still essentially feudal; and the present alienation of the Scottish nobility and gentry from the Presbyterian Church is a striking commentary on the amount of truth in their conviction. Had the advice of

1612

[1] Not from the Archbishops of York or Canterbury, as this might have implied their superiority over the Scottish Church.

[2] Calderwood, VII. 150; Spottiswoode, III. 208, 9.

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 469.

these men been followed the future of Presbytery and Episcopacy in Scotland would have been widely different from what it has actually been.

II. The Highlands, Islands, and Borders

His ecclesiastical policy and his abortive scheme of union had not wholly absorbed the energies of James and his Scottish Privy Council. To establish peace and order in every corner of his ancient kingdom was an object which he never lost sight of from the day he crossed the Border. How much remained to be done before this end was accomplished the foregoing narrative will have made sufficiently plain. It was not only in the outlying parts of the country—the Highlands, Islands, and Borders—that the law was openly defied. Even in the streets of the principal towns the barons and gentlemen still as in the old days occasionally settled their disputes at the sword's point. In 1605 the Lairds of Edzell and Pittarrow fought in the High Street of Edinburgh "from 9 in the night till almost 2 in the morning." Two years later in the same street of Edinburgh the same Laird of Edzell occasioned the death of his own uncle, Lord Spynie, in a fray which he had deliberately raised for the destruction of his personal enemy, the Master of Crawford. In 1606, on the day of the opening of the Red Parliament at Perth, "there fell out a great stir betwixt the Earls of Eglinton and Glencairn" (hereditary enemies), in which one of their retainers was slain and many wounded[1]. To put an end to this time-honoured custom, James now took the most effective means at his disposal. Hitherto the sole check on the parties at feud had been the taking of bands of mutual assurance. By the new method fines proportional to the resources of the parties were to be imposed; and, these failing to effect the desired end, the chastening of a prison was to follow[2].

But it was the Highlands and Islands and Borders—those "peccant parts" of the kingdom, as they are called in the documents of the time—that demanded the chief exertions of James and his councillors; and it is to the credit of James's Government that by the close of his reign their exertions were in a large

[1] Balfour, *Annales*, II. 7, 16, 28.
[2] *P. C. Reg.*, VI. 594—6.

degree crowned with success. In effecting this beneficent result it is to be noted that the Privy Council and not the Parliament was the instrument with which he mainly worked[1].

In the case of the Highlands it was "the wicked and unhappy race of the Clan Gregor" that chiefly occupied James's attention during the remainder of his reign. We have seen how the iniquities of that clan had reached their height in the "Slaughter of the Lennox," a few months before his departure for England. Thenceforward James was to be satisfied with nothing short of the extinction, root and branch, of the race of the Macgregors. Two days before his departure the Privy Council passed an Act ordaining the abolition of their name[2]; and to the Earl of Argyle was entrusted the task of punishing the chief offenders of the clan. With such a race it was believed by James and his councillors that it was folly to observe the common rules of humanity. To secure the chief of the clan, Alexander Macgregor of Glenstrae, Argyle had recourse to a device in keeping with the usages of the Highlands themselves. Under the protection of a safe-conduct granted to him by Argyle, Macgregor had crossed the Border on his way to put his case before James. On the plea that the safe-conduct applied only to Scotland, Argyle had him seized in England, conveyed to Edinburgh, and there hanged with several hostages from his clan. Through successive years the remorseless policy was pursued. In 1610 commission of fire and sword was granted to the surrounding nobles and lairds against the doomed race; and finally in 1617, on the occasion of James's visit to Scotland, the Parliament put its seal to all previous legislation against them. Yet a miserable remnant survived the fire, and the genius of Scott has made the Macgregors the most widely known of Highland clans.

The last mention of the Western Islands was in connection with the enterprise of the "gentlemen adventurers" in the island of Lewis in 1599. In 1601 they had been forced to quit the island, but in 1605, with renewed powers from the Privy Council, they made a fresh attempt to regain possession[3]. Landing with a considerable force, they succeeded in establishing themselves in the islands, and began their work of colonisation—building houses

[1] The account of the Isles which follows is based on Vols. VII.—XIII. of the *P. C. Register*.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 550. The Act of Council has not been preserved, but it is cited in the Act of Parliament noted.—*P. C. Reg.*, VI. 558 note.

[3] *P. C. Reg.*, VII. 204, 5.

and manuring the land. For two years they persevered with their labours, but circumstances were as adverse as before. Some of their number died, some lost heart in the enterprise, money failed, and all along they were harassed by the attacks of the Islesmen[1]. In 1607 they finally quitted the island, when James made a fresh grant of it to Lord Balmerino, Secretary of State, and two others. In 1609 Balmerino was convicted of high treason, but his two partners renewed the attempt of the "gentlemen adventurers." They were even less successful than their predecessors, and in 1610 they sold their claim to the Mackenzies of Kintail, in whose hands the island remained till 1844[2].

But it was with the southern section of the Hebrides, and specially with the island of Islay and the peninsula of Cantyre, that the Government experienced its greatest difficulties. By successive steps, however, extending over the remainder of James's reign, those unruly parts of his kingdom were at length reduced to such peace and order as they had never known before. It was with the Clan Donald, from time immemorial the possessors of Islay, that the chief trouble arose. At this time the most important personages of the clan were its chief, Angus Macdonald, and his son, Sir James. The father and son were not on the best of terms. With a view of overreaching the Government, Angus had nominally granted his lands to his son, who had made himself considerable interest at Court. So far from keeping terms with his father, Sir James played into the hands of the Government, and on being sent down to Islay for the purpose of effecting an arrangement with him, took the opportunity of doing business for himself. He made war on all who opposed him, set fire to a house, knowing that it contained both his father and mother, and having made the former his prisoner, established himself as chief in his place. At the moment when we take up the story, however, Angus had contrived to make his escape and to secure the apprehension of Sir James, who was now lying in Edinburgh Castle.

1605—1607

In the summer of 1605 the Government took steps to restore order throughout the Southern Islands. Lord Scone, Comptroller of Scotland, was the person chosen to effect this desirable object. In September of that year Lord Scone appeared in Cantyre with instructions to exact all rents due

[1] Spottiswoode, III. 165.

[2] Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, Chap. VI. The island was purchased by Sir James Matheson in 1844, who did much to improve its condition.

to the Crown, to require the production of title-deeds, and, in case of refusal on the part of the chiefs, to enforce his commission with fire and sword. But the force that had accompanied him was insufficient to work on the fears of the more distant Islesmen; few chiefs put in an appearance, and the main object of his mission was unaccomplished. The old story was again repeated. Unable in its own strength to make good its authority, the Government struck a bargain with the Earl of Argyle, as it had more than once done with his ancestors. He was appointed Justiciary and Lieutenant of the South Isles, for the good order of which he became responsible, and in return he received the Crown lands in Cantyre and the Isles on condition on paying a stipulated rent. Such was the first attempt of James to deal with the Islands after his removal to England. His next attempt was attended with greater success.

The period of Argyle's Justiciarship extended only to six months; and with the means at his disposal he was unable or unwilling to make good the powers that had been entrusted to him. In the summer of 1608, therefore, James prepared to put forth a mighty effort that once for all should tame "the wicked blood of the Isles." An armament composed of the fencible men of all the Lowlands, reinforced by soldiery from the garrisons of Ireland, appeared in the island of Mull towards the end of August. Its military head was Andrew, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree; and, as an indication of the virtuous intentions of the Government, he was accompanied by Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, one of the notable Scotsmen of his day. Before the arrival of the armament, proclamation had been made that the chiefs of the Isles should appear at the Castle of Aros in Mull to hold conference with the king's commissioner. On this occasion they appear to have been impressed by the display of the royal authority, and presented themselves in great numbers at the commissioner's levee. According to his own report, also, they came without exacting any pledge as to their possible treatment. It was now that Lord Ochiltree found a valuable ally in his colleague, the bishop. By that prelate's advice the chieftains were invited on board the king's ship to hear a sermon from himself. They came, heard the sermon, were entertained to dinner, and then were told that they must remain where they were. With his precious freight on board, Ochiltree sailed for Ayr, and the entrapped chieftains were consigned to the strongholds of Dunbarton, Edinburgh, and Blackness.

1608

It was a stroke perfectly in keeping with James's character, and it had placed the game in his hands.

1609 The next year saw the result of Ochiltree's clever stroke. In the month of August the principal chiefs met Bishop Knox in the island of Iona and agreed to certain conditions, known as the "Band and Statutes of Icolmkill," which decisively mark a new departure in the history of the Western Isles. The Statutes were nine in number, and vividly reveal the state of things with which the Government had to deal. (1) Churches were to be repaired, a parochial ministry was to be established, and temporary marriages were declared illegal; (2) inns were to be set up in convenient places, at once for the accommodation of travellers and for the relief of private persons who had hitherto been at the mercy of "idle men without any calling or vocation to win their living"; (3) masterless vagabonds were to be cleared out of the islands; (4) beggars and sorners were to be dealt with as thieves and oppressors; (5) the importation of wine and aqua vitæ was forbidden on the ground that the excessive drinking of these was the main cause of the poverty and barbarity of the islands; (6) every yeoman or gentleman was to send his eldest son (or daughter if he had no sons) to school in the Lowlands, where he was to remain till he could speak, read, and write English; (7) the carrying of fire-arms, even for the shooting of game, was strictly proscribed; (8) vagabonds and bards, who had been one of the abuses that had "defylit the haill Iles," were first to be placed in the stocks, and thereafter "with all guidly expeditioun" expelled from the country; (9) and finally, to ensure the execution of the Statutes, every chief was to possess the power of apprehending such as broke them and of proceeding against the offenders by due course of law[1]. The following year (1610) a further arrangement was made to ensure the operation of these Statutes. The principal chieftains became bound to appear before the Council at stated intervals; and Bishop Knox received a life-commission as Steward and Justice of all the North and West Isles of Scotland. The Statutes of Icolmkill eventually ensured a steady improvement in the social condition of the Islands; and to one of them a specific result has been traced. The chieftains' sons, through their education in the Lowlands, acquired that loyalty and devotion to the House of Stewart which was to be so strikingly displayed in the subsequent history of Scotland[2].

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, IX. 24—30.

[2] Gregory, p. 333.

For a few years there was comparative tranquillity in the islands, but in 1614 fresh troubles arose, and again with the Macdonalds of Islay. Old Angus Macdonald was dead, and his son Sir James was still secure in Edinburgh Castle; but there were other members of the family who were dissatisfied with the late arrangements made by the Government. In the disturbances that now followed there is some reason to believe that the Earl of Argyle had a secret hand; but it was two of the Macdonalds who did the open work of the rebellion. In March 1614 Ranald Oig, a natural son of Angus, surprised the Castle of Dunivaig, the stronghold of the Macdonalds of Islay, doubtless as a first step towards the recovery of the hereditary lands of his family. He had hardly made himself master of the place, however, before he was attacked and dispossessed by Angus Oig, the second legitimate son of the late chief. Angus Oig had given out that he was acting in the interest of the Crown, but when summoned to surrender the castle he resolutely refused. In September, Bishop Knox appeared in Islay with the object of bringing Angus to terms; but on this occasion it was the bishop who found himself the entrapped party. His force was inadequate, he was amid a hostile population, and the Macdonald had little difficulty in cutting off his retreat by the destruction of his boats. With the bishop in his hands, Angus was now in a position to extort an excellent bargain. He was to receive the Crown lands in Islay, together with the Castle of Dunivaig on a nineteen years' lease—the rent to be 8000 merks a year. On condition that he would do his best to persuade the king to sanction this arrangement the bishop was allowed to go free, leaving his son and nephew as pledges for his good faith. All that had been done before the transaction of Iona had thus to be done over again; and again, in its weakness, the Government had to make terms with a rival chieftain. The Islay lands, greatly against the advice of Knox, were rented to Sir John Campbell of Cawdor on condition that he should put down the rebels at his own cost; and in the course of the year Campbell, in conjunction with a force from Ireland, prepared to make good his pledge. But at this point another and powerful agent intervened. The Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Dunfermline, conceived a scheme of effecting the end of the Government and probably of advancing his own interests at the same time. He despatched to Angus Oig a secret agent named Graham, on a mission which was more creditable to the chancellor's astuteness than to his honour. On the strength of the

1614

promises of Graham, Angus was persuaded to deliver up Bishop Knox's hostages, but not on any account to surrender the castle except by the direct instructions of the chancellor. The deluded Angus discovered to his cost how completely he had been befooled. When Dunivaig was beset by the forces of Campbell of Cawdor, he presented a warrant which forbade him to surrender the castle except on direct instructions from the chancellor. Cawdor had heard of no such warrant, and proceeded with the work of the siege. With the force at his disposal the work was easy. The castle surrendered unconditionally, twenty of the defenders were hanged, and Angus Oig and others of the ringleaders despatched to Edinburgh to be dealt with by the Privy Council. Some six months later Angus and five others of the Clan Donald were hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh.

1615 The rebellion of Angus had hardly been crushed when the Council had to face a still more formidable danger. Within a few hours of the arrival of Angus in Edinburgh, the redoubtable Sir James Macdonald escaped from the castle, and arriving among his own people was received with the utmost enthusiasm. The Council fully realized that in Sir James they had a much more powerful enemy than in Angus Oig. He was the legitimate head of his clan, on whom his long imprisonment gave him a special claim, and he possessed abilities and experience which would enable him to make full use of his resources. In their straits the Council turned to the Earl of Argyle as the person specially fitted to deal with the emergency. It had been the grant of their lands to the Clan Campbell that had made all the difficulty with the Macdonalds; and it lay with Argyle, therefore, to answer for the maintenance of the public peace. At this time, however, Argyle was in England, a fugitive from his creditors; and it was not till near the close of August that he was able to move against the rebels. Meanwhile Sir James had not been idle. Landing in his native Islay, he collected a force that speedily put him in possession of Dunivaig; and when Argyle appeared he was at the head of 1000 men and master of all the strongholds of the South Isles. The struggle lasted through the greater part of September; but by the first week of October the rebellion was at an end, though not entirely to the satisfaction of the Council, as Sir James had made his escape to Ireland, and others of the ringleaders took to piracy in the islands. But it was the last effort of the Macdonalds to recover their hereditary domains; and with the suppression of that

formidable clan peace was at length assured in that distracted community. By insisting on the responsibility of each chief for the good conduct of his clan, and on his appearance at stated intervals before the Council, the Crown gradually attained a control over the whole of the isles such as had never been exercised by any of James's predecessors.

Simultaneously with these doings in the Western Islands the Orkneys and Shetlands had been engaging a large share of James's attention[1]. For the last forty years these islands had been ruled by Patrick Stewart, a cousin of the king, and known to his contemporaries as "Earl Pate." He was the last of those feudal barons who had given so much trouble to successive Kings of Scots, and one of the worst of the type. So persistent and grievous were the complaints against his tyrannous oppression that at length (July, 1609) he was lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh to await what proceedings might be deemed necessary for the better government of the islands. For upwards of five years he was retained a prisoner, partly in the Castle of Edinburgh and partly in that of Dunbarton; and meanwhile James and his Council made various attempts to effect for those northern isles what the Band of Icolmkill had effected for those of the south. James Law, Bishop of the Orkneys and Shetlands, was commissioned to do for his diocese what Bishop Knox had done for the Hebrides; but Law did not possess the vigour and capacity of Knox. Moreover, even from his prison Earl Patrick was able to thwart the efforts of the Government. His brother, James Stewart, and still more his natural son, Robert Stewart, a youth not yet twenty years of age, were the instruments through whom he worked. In 1611 Robert Stewart raised a commotion in the islands which led to a decisive step on the part of James: in 1612 the Orkneys and Shetlands were permanently annexed to the Scottish Crown[2]. But Earl Patrick's resources were not yet exhausted. In 1614 his natural son, Robert, made a last desperate attempt in the interests of his father. With a band of associates he fortified the Castle and Cathedral of Kirkwall, and bade defiance to the Crown. The Earl of Caithness, himself an unruly subject, was entrusted with the task of bringing him to account, and in the month of August sailed for Kirkwall with two ships of war. By the end of September

1609—1615

[1] The history of James's dealings with the Orkneys and Shetlands is to be traced in Vols. VII., VIII. and IX. of the *P. C. Register*.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 481.

his work was accomplished, and Robert Stewart on his way to his doom in Edinburgh. On the 6th of January, 1615, he was hanged at the Market-cross, "pitied of the people for his tall stature and comlie countenance." Precisely a month later, his father, Earl Patrick, met the same fate, though against the wish of "the wiser and elder sort of the nobilitie," and only at the command of the inexorable James. Of the earl it is related that his ignorance was such "that he could scarse rehearse the Lord's Prayer[1]."

1603—1625

The other "peccant part" of the country was the Border; and here also James was able to effect what had defied all the efforts of his predecessors. Even at the time of the Union of the Crowns the Borders were hardly an integral part of the kingdom. Their inhabitants had been forbidden by statute to settle in districts beyond their own bounds[2]; and to a Borderer the King of Scots was still but the "King of Fife and Lothian." In spite of all that had been done from the time of James IV onwards, the Middle and West Marches were as liable to outbursts of lawlessness as the islands themselves. In 1600 Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the West March, was murdered by the Armstrongs while on his way to hold one of his periodical courts. The very week that James took his journey to London the same clan signalised itself by one of its most brilliant achievements. Bursting into England, they harried the country as far south as Penrith. It was the last performance of the kind by that intractable clan. James had been prepared for some troubles on the Borders; and Sir William Selby, Captain of Berwick, was despatched to the country of the Armstrongs with a combined force of English and Scots. So thoroughly did Selby do his work that the very name of Armstrong became comparatively rare in their own district of Liddesdale.

Such was the state of affairs with which James and his Council had to deal. The methods they adopted were those of a military occupation. In 1605 an arrangement was made which was to prove the most effective means that had yet been hit upon for taming the wild spirits of the Border. This was the appointment of a conjunct body of five English and five Scottish Commissioners, whose duty it should be to prevent and punish the special crimes of the Borders of both countries. This commission might have been as ineffectual as any of its predecessors, but a formidable

[1] Calderwood, VII. 194, 5.
[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, III. 461—5.

weapon was placed in its hands[1]. To execute its behests a company of twenty-five mounted police was placed at its command —its first captain being Sir William Cranstoun. For successive years Cranstoun was a name of terror throughout the Borders. In association with the Earl of Dunbar, who in 1606 was appointed chief Commissioner, he plied his task so effectually that in 1609 James was informed that the "Middle Shires" were "as lawful, as peaceable, and as quiet as any part in any civil kingdom in Christianity." With what little scruple they accomplished their work is significantly commemorated in the Border phrase "Jeddart Justice"—hang first and try afterwards. While crime was thus so mercilessly visited, special enactments were passed to prevent its recurrence. The carrying of offensive weapons was strictly forbidden; none save nobles and gentlemen were permitted to possess a house valued above 50*s.* sterling; and the iron gates which defended the Border strongholds were ordered to be beaten into useful implements. Of the changed days on the Borders we have signal proof in the action taken by certain influential lairds in 1612. They gave their pledge to the Government that they would deliver up every criminal found on their lands, and dismiss every lawless person among their own retainers. Service in foreign war was another means of ridding the country of the more desperate spirits. Thus we read that in 1620, one hundred and twenty "broken men" were transported for service in the wars of James's son-in-law, the King of Bohemia. As the result of all these endeavours, the Border counties at the close of James's reign had fairly entered the paths of peace, though under James's successors they were still to give convincing proof that the days of feudalism in Scotland were not yet over.

Notable among the events of James's reign was the famous "plantation of Ulster," in which Scotland played so large and important a part. In June, 1607, the Irish rebellion under Sir Cahir O'Dogherty had been effectually put down; and for the future peace of the country James adopted the experiment which on a smaller scale he had tried in the Island of Lewis. The Province of Ulster was to be subdivided into lots and offered on certain conditions to colonists from Scotland and England. In March, 1609, there came a letter to the Scottish Privy Council announcing the offer which His Majesty "out of his unspeakable love and tender affection" now made to his Scottish

1608—1610

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, VII. 702—9.

subjects[1]. Seventy-seven Scots came forward as purchasers; and, if their offer had been accepted, they would have possessed among them 147,000 acres of Irish land. A rearrangement which was made the following year, however, diminished the number of candidates. When in the autumn of 1610 the Plantation actually began, fifty-nine was the number of the favoured Scots, and 81,000 acres were to be at their disposal. Of the fifty-nine, five were nobles—the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Abercorn, Lord d'Aubigny, the Lord of Burley, and Lord Ochiltree. The colonists did not at once proceed in a body to their possessions, and it was only gradually that the enterprise bore its full effect. But the connection between the two countries was established; and the condition of Ulster to-day, with its material prosperity and its leaven of Scottish blood, is in large degree its direct and notable result[2].

III. James's Visit to Scotland. The Five Articles of Perth.

By his effectual measures for the preservation of law and order James did much to advance the interests of his northern kingdom. On these measures, however, he set little store in comparison with his work of regulating the consciences of his subjects in the matter of religion. We have seen that by the close of 1612 he had at length succeeded in his persistent endeavour to substitute Episcopacy for Presbytery. Had he rested here, the future of Scotland and the House of Stewart would have been different from what it has actually been; but, having succeeded in fashioning the machinery of the Church to his mind, he now turned with equal pertinacity to the improvement of its forms of worship. Throughout the remainder of his reign this was his main concern in his dealings with Scotland.

For six years there was no General Assembly in Scotland—
1616 a pregnant commentary on the revolution that had been wrought since Andrew Melville informed James that he was "God's sillie vassal." At length it was announced by royal proclamation that an Assembly would be held at

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, VIII. 267, 8.

[2] In 1640 there were said to be 40,000 able-bodied Scots in the north of Ireland.—Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, IX. 213.

Aberdeen on the 13th of August, 1616. The fact that Aberdeen was appointed as the place of meeting was itself an intimation that James had some further novelties in his mind. A new Confession of Faith, a new Catechism, a new Liturgy—such were some of its achievements. But this result did not satisfy James; and, in a communication which he made at the conclusion of the Assembly, he clearly indicated what further improvements he wished to see introduced. They were five in number—kneeling at Communion, Private Communion in cases of necessity, Private Baptism in like cases, observance of the great annual festivals of the Christian Church, and Confirmation by the bishops. His chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters, Archbishop Spottiswoode, warned him that the country was not ripe for these innovations; but the very fact that opposition might be offered was only a further provocative for James to insist on the country's accepting them.

In England and Scotland there was but one opinion regarding the main object of the single visit which James paid to his native country; it was to complete his work of assimilating the Churches of the two kingdoms[1]. He had formally intimated, indeed, that he intended no alterations, civil or political, except such as would be acceptable to the Scottish people[2]. How far he meant to keep his word was significantly indicated by certain preparations made for his visit. Under the direction of Inigo Jones, skilled English workmen were employed to fit up Holyrood Chapel for the reception of organs, a band of choristers, and statues of the patriarchs and apostles. Against this last improvement, however, popular opinion declared itself so strongly that James was forced to give way, though not without a sneer of pity at the backward condition of his Scottish bishops. 1617

On the 13th of May, 1617, James crossed the Border, and his visit extended till the 4th of August following. Hunting and feasting filled up a large proportion of his sojourn, but business of the most serious import was not neglected. He was received by all classes with every demonstration of loyalty, yet from the first he ostentatiously displayed his contempt for the deepest feelings of his people. In his train he had brought a number of English Church dignitaries (the famous Laud among them), and in Holyrood Chapel he flaunted the English service "with singing of quiristours, surplices, and playing on 1617

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*, James VI, 1611—18), p. 424.
[2] *P. C. Reg.*, x. 684—6.

organes[1]." He gave still greater offence by insisting on all the great Scottish officials partaking of the Communion in the posture of kneeling—not without demur on the part of certain of them. It was after the pattern thus set in Holyrood Chapel that James wished to see the service of the Scottish Church remodelled in all points; and to effect this end was his main object in coming to Scotland. At a meeting of the Estates, which began on July 17, he plainly showed his hand. The most important Bill which he meant them to sanction was one which staggered even his clerical advisers. Its purport was that in external matters of Church policy his decisions, taken in counsel with the bishops, should have the full force of law, though by the advice of the bishops themselves a clause was added to the effect that "a competent number of the Ministry" should also be consulted. The rumour of the proposed Bill raised a storm among the ministers, which recalled the old days before James's migration to England; and fifty-five of them were found bold enough to draw up a protest against the dreaded Bill. The protest found its way into James's hands, and prudently recognising that he was on dangerous ground he gave way with his usual bad grace. But before his departure he determined to make another attempt to set in motion his scheme for a reformed Church service in Scotland. He had failed with the Estates, but he might find the clergy more pliable if taken by themselves. At St Andrews, therefore, on the 13th of July, he held a Clerical Convention, at which the archbishops, bishops, and twenty-six ministers were present. He then submitted to them precisely those five articles regarding which Spottiswoode had already given him warning. The answer he now received was that these questions were too high for them to settle on their own responsibility and that only a General Assembly was competent to deal with them. When on the 4th of August James recrossed the Border[2], it was with some chagrin at the failure of the chief object of his visit. But his Scottish subjects knew him too well to imagine that they had heard the last of the five articles.

Apart from the resistance offered to his ecclesiastical policy, James had no reason to grumble with his reception in his ancient kingdom. He had visited most of its chief towns—Edinburgh, St Andrews, Stirling, Glasgow and Dumfries, and in all of them he had been entertained at an expense beyond their means. He had

[1] Calderwood, VII. 246.

[2] Calderwood, VII. 271, 2; Spottiswoode, III. 245—7.

had his fill of his favourite pastime of hunting; he had been celebrated in poems in Latin and Greek, and in Scots; and he had been told in all forms of speech that he was the wisest and best of kings that ever sat on a throne. At Dumfries, a farewell sermon was preached by the Bishop of Galloway, "which made the hearers to burst out in many tears[1]." Yet, indubitably, the collective prayer of the nation was that the royal visit might not soon be repeated.

The Clerical Convention at St Andrews had told James that only a General Assembly was competent to deal with the five articles which he had proposed for acceptance by the Church. By an Assembly, therefore, James determined that his articles should be sanctioned. His first attempt miscarried. In November an Assembly met at St Andrews; but the usual care had not been taken to make the way smooth. The attendance was scanty; those present were faint-hearted or scrupulous; and the result was a petty concession which drew from James such threats and sarcasms as produced their desired effect. In August of the following year (1618) the experiment was again made, and on this occasion with triumphant success. At Perth there met by James's command an Assembly, which from the results that followed it may be regarded as one of the most important General Assemblies of the Scottish Church. As in the case of the Glasgow Assembly of 1610, threats and bribes were freely employed to influence the votes of its members; and the great business in hand was carried through in flagrant disregard of the traditional forms of the House[2]. The Five Articles—thenceforward to be known as the "Five Articles of Perth"—were imposed upon the nation by the will of the king through the agency of a pseudo-General Assembly, and the controversy began which was to assume such vast proportions in the reign of his son and successor. It now remained to be seen how the nation would accept the articles which had thus received the sanction of the highest court of the Church. 1617—1621

As Spottiswoode had foretold, the opposition was as widespread as it was persistent. To the article which enjoined kneeling at Communion the resistance was specially fierce and obstinate. For the great majority of Scottish Communicants to kneel at Communion

[1] Spottiswoode, III. 247, 8.—For a glowing account of the benefits that Scotland received from James's visit, see the letter of the Earl of Dunfermline, *Melros Papers*, p. 296.

[2] *Orig. Letters*, 573—6.

was to recognise that supernatural change in the elements which was the grossest superstition in the teaching of Rome. It was against this "gesture" that Knox had fought so strenuously while acting as one of the preachers of Edward VI; and it was mainly through his insistence that the "Black Rubric" had been inserted in the Second English Prayer-Book as a corrective of the rubric that prescribed the posture of kneeling at Communion[1]. From the greatest of its apostles, therefore, the Scottish Reformed Church had inherited its repugnance to the article in question. It was in Edinburgh that the resistance to James's innovations was boldest and most general. The town churches were deserted; the citizens assembled in conventicles, and flocked to ministers in the neighbourhood who were of their own way of thinking. The great instrument of coercion was the Court of High Commission (it had now become one Court); but though it strained its powers to the utmost, it was unequal to the task which James had laid upon it[2]. Still, though even the bishops were lukewarm with regard to the detested articles, James went on his way. When it was announced that a Parliament was to meet in July, 1621, there was a hope among the protesters that it might take their side in the great dispute. By bringing the usual influences to bear, however, James made sure of the result; and by a majority of 85 to 59 the Five Articles received the sanction of the Estates. The day of ratification (Saturday[3], August 4th) was a memorable one in Scottish history, and, as it happened, there were accompanying circumstances which stamped it on the national memory. As the Commissioner touched the acts with the sceptre three flashes of lightning, each followed by a terrific peal of thunder, lit up the chamber, which had been in darkness before and was presently in darkness again. There followed such rain and hail that "the lords were imprisoned about the space of an houre and a halfe," and the gutters ran "like little brooks." In these manifestations the one side saw the plain expression of the wrath of Heaven; but their opponents construed them differently—"as the law was given with fire from Mount Sinai," these said, "so did these fires confirme their lawes[4]." But not even the twofold sanction of Parliament and Assembly could reconcile the mass of the people

[1] The Black Rubric was removed from the Prayer-Book at the accession of Elizabeth, but was restored in 1662, and has remained there ever since.

[2] Striking proof of the activity of the Court will be found in Vols. XI. and XII. of the *P. C. Register*.

[3] Known as "Black Saturday."

[4] Calderwood, VII. 505.

to James's ecclesiastical novelties; and to the close of his reign all the efforts of himself and his advisers were ineffectual to make them kneel at Communion or pay deference to the great festivals of the Church. "And for our Church matters," wrote Spottiswoode in May, 1623, "they are gone unless another course be taken[1]." Such was the conclusion of James's dealings with religion in Scotland. By means which cannot be justified on the most generous construction he had extinguished Presbytery and set up Episcopacy in its place, but in insisting on changes of ritual as well as polity he had unwittingly evoked forces which imperilled that very work which he deemed his main achievement as a King of Scots.

A parallel chapter of the ecclesiastical history of the period still remains to be noted. Since James's removal to England the Scottish Roman Catholics had received no little share of his attention. Before the Union his policy had been to deal as tenderly with his Catholic subjects as his circumstances would permit. The Gunpowder Plot, however, gave another turn to his mind; and thenceforward, till near the close of his reign, the most ardent Presbyterian had little to complain of his zeal for the suppression of Popery. In the furtherance of this end all religious parties in Scotland were agreed—each indeed considering its zeal for this object as the most convincing proof of its orthodoxy. Now and for many years to come the terror of a Catholic reaction still haunted the minds of all Scottish Protestants. The number of Catholics in the country, it is to be remembered, was still very great. They abounded in the shires of Aberdeen, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright; and such a town as Paisley was a "nest of Papists." Among Catholic nobles were Huntly, Errol, Hume, Herries, and even Dunfermline, the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. What further excited disquiet was the swarm of Jesuits and seminary priests who flitted through the country under the protection of Catholics of position and influence. Parliaments and General Assemblies alike dealt with the common enemy—fines and imprisonment being the usual penalties inflicted; yet, if we may judge from the constant repetition of the same repressive legislation, their efforts were of little avail. The Catholic nobles gave special trouble, as James could never make up his mind to treat them like common recusants and unbelievers. But the most notable incident in the pursuit of Papists was the case of the Jesuit, Ogilvie—the only member of his communion who in Scotland suffered death

[1] *Orig. Letters*, 713.

for his faith after formal trial. Apprehended in Glasgow in December, 1615, he was afterwards conveyed to Edinburgh and tried before the Privy Council. For the guidance of his judges James sent down a series of questions, telling them at the same time that if Ogilvie were a fomenter of rebellion as well as a Jesuit he should suffer the last penalty of the law. That he was a rebel and an abettor of rebels his judges, Spottiswoode among them, were apparently satisfied; and Ogilvie attained the martyrdom which he had carefully sought[1].

1624 The story of James's last years is diversified by a pleasanter theme than his interminable difficulties with the scrupulous consciences of his Scottish subjects. This was the great scheme for founding a Scottish colony "between New England and Newfoundland." Its originator was Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, poet, statesman, and traveller—a kind of Scottish Raleigh in his combination of practical talent with imaginative ingenuity. The scheme was one after James's own heart, as in the planting of Lewis and Ulster he had shown, and he readily granted to Sir William a patent for the colonisation of the vaguely defined territory—henceforth to be known as *Nova Scotia*. He even came to his aid with an ingenious suggestion. To attract candidates for the future colony a new title—that of Nova Scotia baronet—was to be offered on the fulfilment of certain conditions. By paying six thousand merks, or, as an alternative, on sending out six skilled workmen and maintaining them for two years, the candidate was to receive his baronetcy and 30,000 acres of land. It might have been expected that there would be a ready response to these alluring offers. Scotsmen had already given ample proof of their readiness to seek their fortunes in foreign lands. In Poland, Russia, and Sweden[2] flocks of them had settled and shown the national aptitude for making themselves at home among strangers. But it was to one class of Scotsmen that James hoped the Nova Scotia colony would be specially acceptable. In the proclamation of the scheme (Nov. 30, 1624), special reference is made to "younger brether and meane gentlemen quhois moyens ar short of thair birth, worth or myndis, who otherwayes most be troublesome to the houssis and freinds from whence they ar descendit[3]." But from

[1] Spottiswoode, III. 222—6; *Orig. Letters*, 385—7, 389, 424.

[2] And even in Finland.—See *A Brief Sketch of the Scottish Families in Finland and Sweaen*, by Otto Donner (Helsingfors, 1884).

[3] *P. C. Reg.*, XIII. 649.

no class of Scotsmen was there any enthusiastic response. In 1621 a few farm labourers, accompanied by a preacher and one skilled artisan, had gone forth to the wilderness; but their example was not strenuously followed up. In the baronetcies a livelier interest was taken. By the end of October, 1625, there were as many as seventeen Scots who were going about with the title, and by the end of June, 1627, they numbered thirty-five[1]. Of his meritorious project, therefore, James saw little fruit; and, though his successor entered into it as heartily as himself, the venture must be reckoned with certain others in which the national ambition outran the national sufficiency.

It was on the 23rd of March, 1625, that James despatched his last letter regarding Nova Scotia: four days later he was dead. For fifty-eight years he had reigned over Scotland; and, whatever were his faults or virtues, his subjects could not complain that he had neglected the affairs of his kingdom. From first to last there was little, great or small, that bore on the national interests in which he had not had a busy hand; and his removal to England had quickened rather than diminished his buzzing assiduity. The Register of the Scottish Privy Council, which has recently been published, and which covers the entire period of his reign, has for the first time revealed the full scope of his activity in the administration of his kingdom. In one respect the record emphasises the grave defects of his character; in another it certainly raises our estimate of his capacity and of his sense of the responsibilities of his office. In his dealings alike with Highland chiefs and Presbyterian clergy he so often displayed a petty malice, a malignity, and a deliberate cruelty, that we are bound to conclude that these vices were of the essence of his nature. His many letters[2] to individuals and corporate bodies, which appear in the Register, throw light on his character as a man as well as a king. Self-complacency is their prevailing note; and it was this self-complacency rather than good humour that prompted those familiarities in social intercourse which made him so grotesque a figure.

[1] *P. C. Reg.* I. (Second Series), pp. XIX., CIII.—Sir William Alexander has himself given an interesting account of his scheme. See the Reprint in Laing's *Royal Letters, Charters and Tracts, relating to the Colonization of New Scotland*, etc.

[2] On one of these, that addressed by James to his subjects on the occasion of his sailing for Norway to bring home his bride, Sir Walter Scott doubtless based his conception of James's character and style of conversation, as he has portrayed them in his *Fortunes of Nigel*. Scott quotes the letter in a note to his edition of the *Secret History of the Court of James I* (Vol. II. p. 331), 1811. It may be said that in his portrait of James, Scott does more than justice to the man and less than justice to the king.

Exaggerated as Weldon's famous portrait of him undoubtedly is, the outer man he describes seems but the appropriate incarnation of that strange compound of shrewdness, tactlessness, mental awkwardness, and conceit which James's reported sayings and doings inevitably convey. "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch, as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth; his skin was as soft as taffeta sarsnet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his finger ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin; his legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders[1]."

James's government of Scotland after the union of the Crowns may fairly be called a despotism, but it was neither a capricious nor a malevolent despotism. He undoubtedly meant well by his native country, and he carried out his good intentions with a shrewdness and consistency which prove that he fully understood the objects at which he was aiming. That policy was undoubtedly conceived in the interests of the Scottish people, but its primary reference was the interest of himself and his descendants. England and Scotland were to be made one in Church and law and State, that the House of Stewart, as the vicegerents of heaven, might execute their divinely-appointed mission in both countries.

[1] *Secret History of the Court of James I*, II. 1, 2.

IV. General Progress of the Country.

The outstanding fact of James's reign was the transformation which he wrought in the Scottish constitution. He found it a monarchy strictly limited, and he left it all but a pure despotism. As in the case of the Tudors in England, it was through his Privy Council that he effected this revolution, and through which he nominally governed the country. Chosen by himself and dismissible at his pleasure, its members had no choice but to be the docile instruments of his will[1]. The number of councillors was over thirty, but the attendance of many of them was nominal; and the business was mainly in the hands of the great officials, the chief of whom were the Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary, Clerk-Register, Comptroller, Justice-Clerk, Advocate, and Privy Seal. What has been said of the jurisdiction of the English Privy Council strictly applies to that of Scotland—"it supervised the administration of the laws, regulated trade and wages, banished rogues, dealt with obstinate recusants, granted licences to travel, restricted the press, administered oaths of allegiance, reprimanded juries, kept an eye on the law-courts, the justices of the peace..., and even to some extent controlled the Church. It deliberated on all affairs of State, searched out plots, called out the national forces and directed the movements of the fleet[2]."

The reign of James VI marks an epoch in the history of the administration of justice in Scotland. Apart from the Courts of the Burghs and those that pertained to the heritable jurisdictions of the barons, the Justice-Ayres and the Court of Session, founded by James V, had hitherto composed the judicial system of the country. As has been already said, the Court of Session had not quite fulfilled the intentions of its founder. It remained both inefficient and corrupt; but its machinery was excellent, and only a higher standard of public opinion was necessary to convert it into a worthy tribunal. During the reign of Mary and the early years of James, the Justice-Ayres had ceased to be regularly held, with the result that, while the "special and highest crimes" might be dealt with by the Court of Session in Edinburgh, the lesser offences committed throughout the country were left unpunished.

[1] In the early part of his reign the Parliament retained the right of electing the Councillors.

[2] Prothero, *Select Statutes, &c.*, pp. ci., cii.

By an Act of 1587, therefore, it was ordained that Justice-Ayres should be held twice a year in every shire, and that eight persons should be specially commissioned to conduct them[1]. Even this provision, however, was found inadequate; and in 1609, James took a further step which must be reckoned among his good deeds to his native kingdom. In England he had seen in full working the system of Justices of the Peace[2], and, in this case wise, he determined to try its efficacy in Scotland. By an Act of the Estates passed in 1609, followed up by the energetic proceeding of the Privy Council, Justices of the Peace were appointed for every shire, the number assigned to each being dependent on its relative extent and importance[3]. Every Justice other than a nobleman, prelate, Privy Councillor, or Lord of Session, was to receive 40*s.* Scots a day for his attendance on the Court—this emolument to come from the fines imposed in the district. To give effect to the new tribunals, two constables were to be sworn in for each parish—the term of service being six months, and the acceptance of the office compulsory. The powers assigned to the justices were sufficiently extensive. "Generally," it has been said, "the justices in each shire were charged with all the duties of magistracy in that shire, except that they were to refer all matters capital, and the cases of all offenders of high rank, to the Council, and also that they were to avoid interference with the powers of provosts and bailies of burghs, and with other constituted jurisdictions[4]."

In no previous reign had so much been done for the commercial development of the country. The introduction of new manufactures was encouraged by the liberal grant of patents, with the result that such commodities as glass, soap and leather were now for the first time produced at home. The making of woollen cloth, which was to become so important an industry of Scotland, specially exercised James and his Council; and a Commission on Manufactures was appointed with full powers to determine how it might best be carried on in the interest of the country. An Act imposing a new tariff and another for securing a uniformity of weights and measures were likewise the result of a compre-

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, III. 458, 9.

[2] Prothero, *Select Statutes, &c.*, pp. cxiii. *et seq.*

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 434; *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. IX. *s.v.*

[4] Professor Masson, *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. IX., p. lxii. Besides the Courts above mentioned, the Sheriff Courts exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the Commissary Courts civil and consistorial jurisdiction.

hensive enquiry into the commercial conditions of the time. Legislation regarding foreign trade was continued in the same spirit as in all previous reigns. Certain home products, wool and grain above all, were strictly forbidden to be sent out of the country, though the prohibition of their export to England ceased with the repeal of the mutually hostile laws that followed the Union. One new departure in commercial legislation deserves to be specially noted. In the preamble to an Act of 1597 it is stated that Scotland, alone of all countries, had never imposed duties on imported goods. Thenceforward, however, Scotland was to follow the example of other nations; and a duty of twelve pennies was to be imposed on every pound's worth of all imported commodities[1].

An intelligent English traveller who visited Scotland in 1598 has given the following account of the foreign trade of Scotland. "The inhabitants of the western parts of Scotland carry into Ireland and neighbouring places red and pickled herrings, sea-coal, and aquavitae, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland yarn and cows' hides or silver. The eastern Scots carry into France coarse cloths, both linen and woollen, which be narrow and shrink in the wetting. They also carry thither wool, skins of goats, wethers, and of conies, and divers kinds of fishes taken in the Scottish sea and near other northern islands, and after smoked or otherwise dried and salted; and they bring from thence salt and wines. But the chief traffic of the Scots is in four places; namely, at Camphere in Zeeland, whither they carry salt, the skins of wethers, otters, badgers, and martens, and bring from thence corn. And at Bordeaux in France, whither they carry cloths and the same skins, and bring from thence wines, prunes, walnuts, and chestnuts. Thirdly, within the Baltic Sea, whither they carry the said cloths and skins, and bring thence flax, hemp, iron, pitch, and tar. And, lastly, in England, whither they carry linen cloths, yarn, and salt, and bring thence wheat, oats, beans, and like things[2]."

In previous Scottish reigns, the king was only one of many great personages almost as powerful as himself. In the early years of James's own reign, it is of Lennox and Arran that we have to take account far more than of himself. From a few

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, IV. 135—6.

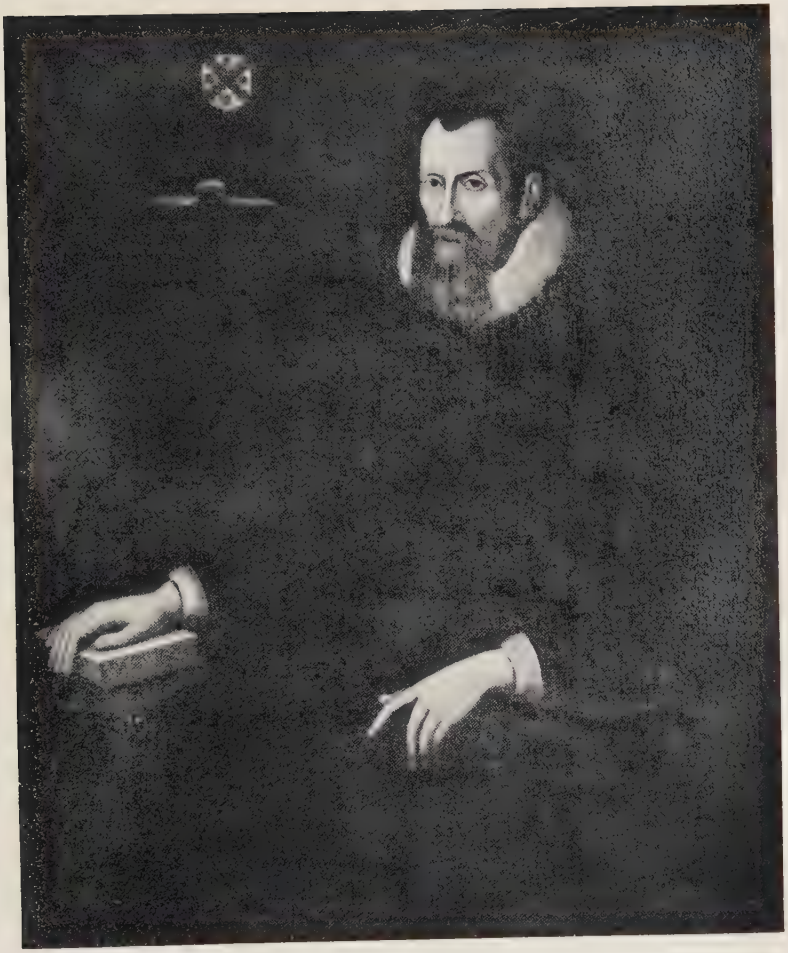
[2] Fynes Moryson.—In his Introduction to Vol. IX. of the *P. C. Register*, Professor Masson has given a list of Scottish exports and imports at this period.

years before his removal to England, however, all this was changed. Thenceforward, he is the one figure who fills the stage, and the proudest Scottish potentates become the mere instruments of his will. Several of his State officials were men of high ability, but from the position they occupied they are not figures in Scottish history. The name of Thirlestane is associated with the Act that is known as the Great Charter of Presbyterianism, but there were others as famous in their day as Thirlestane. There was the Earl of Dunbar, who successively filled the offices of Treasurer, Comptroller, and King's Commissioner—the terror of the Borders, as we have seen, but no less detested as James's principal agent in the overthrow of the Kirk. Another great personage was Sir Alexander Seton, better known as the Earl of Dunfermline, who for eighteen years held the office of Chancellor. Though known to be an adherent of the Church of Rome, he was not unacceptable to the Presbyterian party. "He was a good Justicier," says Calderwood, "courteous and humane both to strangers and to his owne countrie people, but noe good friend to the bishops[1]." Lastly there was Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, dubbed by James "Tam o' the Cowgate," from his residence in that part of Edinburgh. Hamilton filled many offices, but it was as Lord Advocate and the pursuer of the banished ministers that he earned the favour of James and the detestation of the Kirk[2].

Though himself a lover of learning and in his own way a man of letters, the reign of James was not a blossoming period in Scottish literature. At the beginning of the 16th century Scotland could more than hold its own with England in the number and quality of its men of literary genius. At the close of the 16th and the opening of the 17th century this relation was signally reversed. Against the marvellous succession of poets and thinkers who make the glory of England during that period, Scotland can point to but one writer who holds a respectable place in British literature—Drummond of Hawthornden. It may be said that the turmoil in which the nation lived, the constant preoccupation of men's minds with the burning questions of the hour, and the narrow view of life involved in the prevailing type of religion, may account for this failure of great creative genius. But Scotsmen did not all accept

[1] Calderwood, VII. 549.

[2] Hamilton's *Correspondence*, published by the Bannatyne Club under the title of *State Papers and Miscellaneous Correspondence of Thomas, Earl of Melros*, is one of the most valuable authorities we possess regarding James's reign. He was Earl of Melros before he became Earl of Haddington.



John Napier of Merchiston.

the theology of Knox; and times of revolution have not invariably checked the production of works of imagination. For the century and a half that followed the death of Chaucer England failed to produce one literary genius of a high order; and a similar period of impotency and of equal duration was now to be in the destinies of Scotland. Yet there were two Scottish subjects of James whose achievement added lustre to his northern kingdom—his tutor George Buchanan and Napier of Merchiston. In the opinion of learned Europe, Buchanan was the first Latin poet of his age; and, as Latin was still the common language of educated Europe, this implied a contemporary reputation more extensive than that of any other writer then living in the British Islands. By his invention of logarithms and hardly less by his opening up of the Apocalypse[1] Napier of Merchiston attained a cosmopolitan reputation little below that of Buchanan.

In education the most noteworthy act of James was the foundation of the College of Edinburgh in 1582. Scotland had now four universities, but it was open to grave doubt whether this number were not beyond her resources. That of Glasgow had received a temporary impetus from Andrew Melville, but those of St Andrews and Aberdeen were in equally low estate both as regards their incomes and their provision for instruction. In his zeal for the assimilation of Scottish institutions to those of England, James conceived a plan for which much could be said at the time. As England had but two universities, Scotland should also have but two—at St Andrews and Glasgow, the seats of the two Archbishops. On the occasion of his visit in 1617 there was serious alarm in the colleges of Edinburgh and Aberdeen lest this fate should be in store for them; but their professors made such a display of learning before his Majesty and so softened his heart by their poetical effusions that he was diverted from his purpose, if he ever seriously entertained it. In spite of all the efforts of Knox and his fellow-reformers there was still no adequate provision for elementary education. Their ideal of a school for every parish was, however, never lost sight of; and in 1616 an Act of Privy Council ordained that such provision should be made. But the day was yet distant when such an Act could take effect throughout the length and breadth of Scotland.

[1] Napier's *Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John* went through numerous editions in English, Dutch, French and German.

In a letter[1] written to James in 1617, the Earl of Haddington (then Lord Binning) describes in glowing terms the vast amelioration that had been wrought in the country under James's guidance. Formerly, he says, Islander oppressed Highlander; Highlander tyrannised over Lowlander; all kinds of enormities were practised in every part of the country—"Edinburgh being the ordinary place of butchery, revenge, and daily fights"; churches and churchyards were more frequented for malice and mischief than for God's service; and, in brief, no person, merchant or minister, was safe in the discharge of his duty. Thanks, however, to his Majesty's "wisdom, power, care, and expenses," all this was at an end; and "no nation on earth could now compare with our prosperities." This picture of Scotland, both as James had found it and as he had made it, was doubtless overcharged; yet it is but simple truth to say that in no previous reign was so notable an advance made along every line of national prosperity. Yet the inevitable abatement has to be made from James's claims to be regarded as a beneficent ruler, that he inaugurated and transmitted a policy in Church and State which could issue only in revolution and disaster.

[1] *Melros Papers*, p. 273.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I (1625—1649).

I. The Act of Revocation.

It was the boast of James VI that "he knew the stomach" of his Scottish subjects: the same boast assuredly could not be made by his son and successor, Charles I. By his training, temperament, and lifelong convictions regarding religion and his kingly function, Charles was incapable of sympathetic understanding alike of the national character and the national aspirations. Born in 1600, he had not completed his third year when he was removed to England; and, though his dominions in Scotland were sufficiently important to have induced him to visit his native country, it was not till his thirty-third year that he was to set foot in it.

The circumstances in which he came to the Scottish throne were far less formidable than those which attended the accession of his grandmother, Mary Stewart, yet he failed even more signally to cope with them. He had hardly assumed the government when that misunderstanding began between him and his northern subjects which the incompatibility of their respective aims and desires was to aggravate in every successive year of his reign. His marriage to the Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, raised a suspicion of the soundness of his Protestantism, which led to the worst construction of every act of his religious policy. Nor from the beginning was that policy calculated to allay a suspicion which we know to have been unjust. By one act only could Charles have regained the confidence of Presbyterian Scotland—the annulling of the detested Five Articles of Perth. Though he made a show of concession, however, the country was given clearly to understand that in the king's eyes no Church could be satisfactory in which these Articles were not accepted by its members[1]. It soon appeared, also, that he was to go even beyond his father in extending the power and importance of the bishops in

1625—1629

[1] Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 340; Balfour, II. 142.

the affairs of the country. He made Archbishop Spottiswoode President of the Exchequer, and intimated to the Privy Council, that, as Primate of Scotland, he should take precedence of every subject. Of the predominance Charles meant to assign to the Episcopate he gave further unmistakeable proof: in reconstructing his Scottish Privy Council he gave a place to five bishops—the name of Spottiswoode heading the list of its members[1].

The ecclesiastical policy of Charles was not reassuring, and there were others of his actions which raised murmurs among all ranks of the people. Thus he sought to revive an institution of James known as the Commission for Grievances, but would have enlarged its powers to a degree that would have virtually made it a Scottish Star-Chamber. So strenuous, however, was the opposition raised against the proposed institution that Charles found it prudent to abandon his scheme[2]. It was further unfortunate for Charles that his difficulties as King of England forced him into an unpopular policy in Scotland. From his father he had inherited his part in the Thirty Years' War, and his own action led him subsequently into hostilities with France as well. Denied the means of carrying on his various wars by the English Parliament, he turned to Scotland as being more amenable to his will. From Scotland he had two demands to make, neither of which was acceptable to its people, indifferent as they were to the foreign policy of himself and his minister, Buckingham. As a part of the United Kingdom, Scotland would have to make its proportional contribution to the support of the foreign levies; and, as liable to invasion by the enemy, it would have to put itself in a state of effective defence. In a Convention which met in October, 1625, a grant of £400,000 was voted; but, when Charles suggested that instead of this grant a defensive force of 2000 men, maintained with the necessary shipping for the next three years, would be more acceptable, he was met with a flat refusal[3]. In its own interest, however, the country was forced to make provision against possible attack; and during the years that followed Charles's accession much of the business of the Privy Council consisted in its endeavours to meet the threatened danger. Above 20,000 men were raised for foreign service, many of whom were one day to turn their weapons against Charles's own breast; "wapinschawins" were energetically revived; and every weak point on the coast

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, I. (Second Series), p. 248.
[2] *Ibid.* 227—32; Balfour, II. 131.
[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, V. 167.

Monument to Earl of Dunbar, Lord High Treasurer, Dunbar.

sedulously fortified and guarded[1]. But, indifferent as they were to Charles's foreign policy, it was only with grumbling reluctance that the Scots put forth even these efforts for their own security.

But the great Act of the opening years of Charles's reign was one which was to have the most momentous results not only for Scotland but for his larger kingdom. This was the Act of Revocation, annexing all the Church and Crown lands that had been alienated since the accession of Mary Stewart in 1542. The political significance of this step was that it threw the majority of the nobles on the side of the Presbyterian clergy, and thus renewed the alliance which in the period of the Reformation had been so disastrous to the Crown. The successful rebellion of Scotland in large degree contributed to the successful rebellion of England; and, as it seemed to contemporaries, Charles's Act of Revocation was "the ground stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to this king's government and family[2]."

An Act of Revocation, as Charles took care to inform his subjects, was not a new thing in Scotland. From Robert I onward almost every Scottish sovereign had passed such an Act on the attainment of his majority. What distinguished Charles's Act from all others was the extent of its application. Previous revocations had only touched alienations made during the king's minority: that of Charles was to have force not only in the case of his own minority but of the complete reigns of his two predecessors. When it is said that the bulk of the property of the pre-Reformation Church was involved in Charles's Act, it will be seen how wide a net he was casting over Scotland. It will be remembered that by the Act of 1587 all ecclesiastical property, with some important exceptions, had been annexed to the Crown[3]. Whither the bulk of this property went, we have also seen. By lavish grants to the greater and lesser barons James had secured the support of their order in the maintenance of his prerogative. To what extent these grants were made a single sentence may show: between 1587 and 1625 there were erected into temporal lordships twenty-one abbeys, seven priories, six nunneries, two preceptories, and two ministries[4]. When it is noted, also, that

[1] The volumes of the *P. C. Register* covering these years abound with entries regarding these preparations.

[2] Balfour, II. 128.

[3] See *ante*, p. 161.

[4] These numbers are taken from Professor Masson's invaluable Introduction to Vol. I. (Second Series) of the *P. C. Register*.

Charles's Act reached forty-five years beyond 1587, it is evident that there must have been few families of any consequence in Scotland whom it did not materially affect.

Charles was well aware of the opposition on which he must reckon from the most powerful persons in the country, and he laid his plans accordingly. It was from the Lords of Privy Council and the Court of Session that he had to expect the most formidable resistance to his scheme, and he took effective measures to meet it. Hitherto the Lords of Session had formed an important element in the Council, but this arrangement would have materially increased the difficulties which he had to anticipate, and in reconstructing the Council (March, 1626) he deliberately excluded every judge of the Court of Session[1]. As his own nominees, the Privy Councillors were now at his beck; but it was further necessary that the various tribunals of the country should also be under his control. In the Court of Session, therefore, and in the various provincial Courts he made his influence so felt that he had little to fear from any obstacles these tribunals might put in his way[2].

On the 12th of October, 1625, the Revocation passed the Privy Seal; and its drift was no sooner known than the opposition began. As the new Council was not yet formed, there were vehement protests on the part of the councillors[3]. In two successive letters Charles endeavoured to soothe their alarm; but when the Council was reconstructed in March, 1626, there was no further need for temporising. In August of that year he began the legal process known in Scotland as a "summons of reduction[4]," by which a person maintains that his property is wrongfully held by another —the Crown in this case being the claimant against the Lords of Erections. Now that the deluge was fairly upon them, the nobles, lairds, and even the leaders of the clergy (whose interests were also involved) anxiously despatched deputations to Charles in the hope of effecting some compromise. The answer of Charles came in January, 1627, in the shape of a "Commission for Surrenders of Superiorities and Teinds," which was empowered to sit till the close of July[5].

The great business now being in train, Charles, with the powers

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, I. (Second Series), pp. 248—52.

[2] The Earl of Stirling's *Register of Royal Letters, &c.*, edited by Charles Rogers, LL.D., I. pp. liv—lvi.

[3] *P. C. Reg.*, I. (Second Series), pp. 193—5.

[4] The writ of summons is given in Connell, *Treatise on Tithes*, II. 67—71.

[5] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, V. 189.

at his disposal, successfully carried it through, though in the teeth of opposition at every step. So far as its large political results were concerned, the main work of the Commission was the settlement of a composition by which the lands of the Lords of Erections should be transferred to the Crown. But the Commission had another work of national importance to perform; and this was the praiseworthy part of Charles's scheme, which he never ceased to put in the forefront as the chief ground of his action. This was the placing on a new basis of the whole system of teinds or tithes, which were the recognised patrimony of the Kirk. In the scramble for Church property which had ensued on the Reformation, the teinds had fallen promiscuously into the hands of multitudes of persons other than the owners of the lands from which they were drawn. As was inevitable, this system had been fraught with grievous injustice alike to the landowners or heritors and the parish clergy. The "titulars of tithes," as their holders were called, extorted their dues with a rapacity which made men think with regret of the days when the tithes were in the hands of the clergy of the ancient Church. The tacksman or middleman had been called into existence, with all the evils that come in his train; and every harvest[1] obliged clergy and heritor and teind-holder to go through the dismal repetition of extortionate exactions, on the one side, and bitter complaints, on the other. The plan devised by Charles for the remedy of the evil was simple and effective: every heritor was to have the power, if he chose to use it, of purchasing his own tithes from the titulars[2].

The Commission did not settle the composition which Charles was prepared to offer for the erected lands, but it advanced the great transaction one stage further: it found that all the erections in question should be resigned into the king's hands, and that their owners should accept the composition which he might be pleased to offer[3]. The parties interested were four in number—the Lords of Erections, the Burghs which had received grants of Church lands, the Bishops and Clergy, and the Tacksmen of the Teinds; and before his Majesty's final judgment should be given, each of these parties had, in the phrase of the time, to accept the Submission, or, in other words, to bind themselves to acquiesce in the decision

[1] The teinds were mostly raised in kind.

[2] By this arrangement the stipends of the ministers of the Church of Scotland came to be put on a secure basis.

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, v. 189—91.

that might be delivered. The Submissions came in slowly and reluctantly; but at length, in September, 1629, Charles was in a position to pronounce his final deliverance. This he accomplished in four "Determinatiouns" or "Decreits Arbitral," addressed to the four parties whose interests were involved. The value of the teinds he declared to be one-fifth of the constant rents of the lands from which they were drawn, and their heritable value to be nine years' purchase. For the erected lands ten years' purchase was declared to be a just equivalent[1].

Such was the greatest economic revolution recorded in Scottish history[2]. Like many of Charles's actions it was a proceeding in which justice was largely mingled with injustice, and folly with wisdom. By his violent overriding of rights which had become prescriptive he alienated the class by whose influence his authority could be upheld; and the time was not long in coming before his fatal error was brought home to him. What might have been safely done by politic dealing in the course of a long reign, he had with ill-judged haste impetuously hurried through in the space of a few years. On the other hand, the national Church of Scotland has not failed to acknowledge the beneficence of the great Act which secured an adequate and permanent provision for its ministers.

During the opening years of Charles's reign there are but two events that call for special notice, and both belong to the history of the Highlands. Throughout the April and May that followed his accession a formidable rebellion of the Clan Ian in North Argyleshire seriously engaged the attention of the Council, and was crushed by the energy of Lord Lorne, soon to be known in a wider sphere as the great Earl and Marquis of Argyle[3]. Far more memorable in Scottish tradition is the tragedy of the Burning of Frendraught. On the night of the 8th of October, 1630, the Viscount of Aboyne, son of the Marquis of Huntly, Gordon of Rothiemay, and certain of their friends and attendants, were hospitably entertained by Crichton, the laird of Frendraught. About midnight, when all had retired, fire broke out in the tower, Aboyne and Rothiemay perishing in the flames—while all belonging to Crichton succeeded in making their escape. As there was a

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, v. 197—207. A thousand merks Scots is declared to be "a competent and reasonable satisfaction" for an estate, the annual rent of which is 100 merks.—*Ibid.* 198.

[2] The protracted and tedious process of the valuation may be followed in the successive volumes of the *P. C. Register.*

[3] *P. C. Reg.*, I. (Second Series), pp. 18—41.

Illuminated Page from Breviary in University of Edinburgh.

feud between the Houses of Rothiemay and Frendraught there was a natural suspicion that there had been foul play. But though a former adherent of Crichton was executed on the charge of raising the fire, no evidence was forthcoming to prove his own guilt[1]. The Burning of Frendraught has dwelt in the popular memory; but, if it is to be regarded as a crime, the records of the period amply prove that it does not stand alone.

II. Charles's Visit.

Every year since his accession Charles had promised to visit Scotland, but it was not till June, 1633, that he actually crossed the Border. On the 15th of that month he entered Edinburgh amid a display such as the kingdom had not seen "for many ages[2]." Like that of his father in 1617, however, the visit of Charles was not one of mere pleasure and ceremony. Like James he came with his mind bent on changes in Church and State, which for a time at least a more prudent ruler would have preferred to postpone.

It was with Charles's ecclesiastical policy that the hopes and fears of his Scottish subjects were mainly bound up. Of his preferences regarding the externals of public worship he left them in no doubt. At the coronation of James VI John Knox had preached the sermon, and it was in the teeth of the preacher and his brother ministers that even the ceremony of anointing was performed. At the coronation of Charles it was seen how far these notions had been left behind. In the Chapel of Holyrood, when Charles received the Crown, there was not only anointing, but the officiating bishops performed the ceremony in "white rochets" and "white sleeves" (Papist rags, Knox called them); there was the semblance of an altar; there were candles; and there was a crucifix, before which the bishops bowed as they passed[3]. In the kirk of St Giles on the following Sunday two English chaplains, we are told by the Presbyterian Row, "acted their English service"; and, the sermon over, a banquet followed in the neighbouring house whence there proceeded such a din from "men, musical instruments, trumpets, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, that no service was had in the afternoon[4]." In themselves these doings were sufficiently distasteful to the majority of the nation, but there was a circumstance that made them doubly galling. In the train of

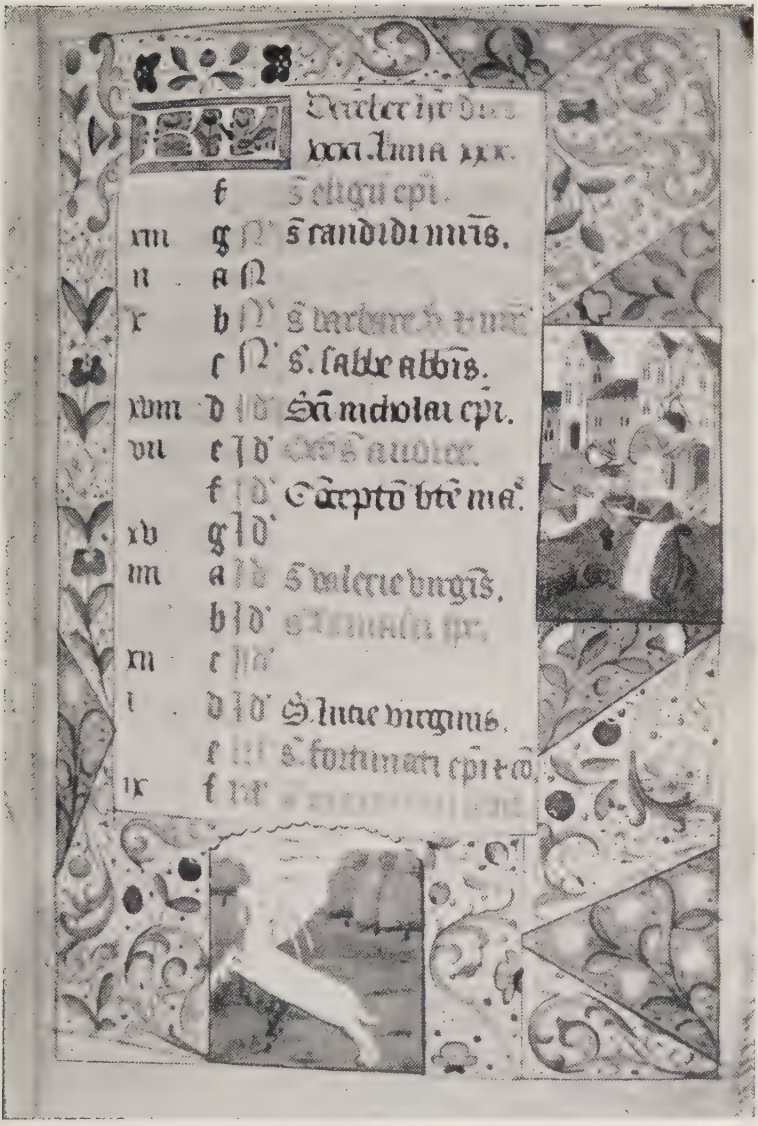
[1] Spalding, *History of the Troubles in Scotland and England* (Ban. Club), I. 5—8.
[2] Balfour, II. 196. [3] Spalding, I. 17. [4] Row, 363.

Charles had come Bishop Laud, whose hand had already been busy in Scottish affairs, and who was now making himself offensively prominent throughout the royal visit. Like his ancestress, Mary of Lorraine, Charles was knitting the formidable bond of religious scruples and national feeling which was to overthrow him as it had overthrown her.

The Estates met on June 18th, and their proceedings did not tend to reassure the country. A Scottish Parliament Charles found much easier to manage than an English one. Long before his coming, his officials had been making sure of the vote of the commissioners for the shires and burghs[1]. On the bishops, now important members of the House, he could securely count; and the nobles were not as yet united in their opposition to the Crown. He had impressed his will on the Privy Council and the various judicial tribunals, and he now had his way with the High Court of Parliament. The arrangement known as the "Committee of the Lords of the Articles" made this a comparatively easy matter. On his accession Charles had told his Scottish subjects that he meant to follow in the footsteps of his father; and it cannot be said that in his present action he was unfaithful to his pledge. Till the Parliament held by James in 1609, each of the three Estates had chosen its own Lords of the Articles[2]; but in that Parliament a new method had been initiated by James, which his son now faithfully followed. The nobles chose the necessary eight from the bishops; the eight bishops chose eight of the nobles; and the sixteen together chose eight from the commissioners for the barons and burghs. Though seemingly an equitable arrangement, it in reality placed the control of the Parliament's action entirely in the hands of the king. The bishops to a man were on his side; they chose such of the nobles as were of their own way of thinking; and these complaisant nobles and bishops chose such commissioners from the Third Estate as would work comfortably with themselves. The method of procedure followed by the Committee, also, fairly placed the reins in Charles's hands. The Lords of the Articles drew up their Bills, submitted them in a body to the House, and,

[1] This appears from the *P. C. Register*.

[2] This was the averment of the protesting nobles and other Commissioners in the Parliament of 1633 (Cobbett, *Collection of State Trials*, III. 606, 7), and it is borne out by the history of James VI's Parliaments. See *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, IV. 69. In the case of the Convention of 1560, which overthrew the ancient Church, the Spiritual Lords chose the Temporal Lords of the Articles, but many of the "Spiritual Lords" were then laymen.



Illustrated Page from Breviary in the University of Edinburgh.

without debate on each particular Bill, the vote was taken on the mass[1]. In this dealing, also, Charles only followed the example of his father, but, lacking alike the shrewdness and the timidity of James, he did not see that it was now inopportune.

A more industrious Parliament had never sat in Scotland. When it rose on June 28th, it had put its seal to no fewer than one hundred and sixty-eight Acts. Of this multitude a few were important and some were ominous. The great Act of Revocation was sanctioned; an Act of the Privy Council regarding Parish Schools was ratified; and, what the conditional generosity of his English Parliaments rendered very acceptable, an unusually heavy grant was placed at the king's disposal. But it was the Acts that related to religion that excited the greatest interest and the greatest hostility. These were two in number—one confirming all the Acts of James touching religion, and the other approving the Act of 1609 which conferred on the king the right of determining "the apparel of Kirkmen." What this apparel was meant to be was clearly specified: during divine service and sermon the bishops were to array themselves in "whites," and the inferior clergy in their surplices[2]. While the various Bills were in course of preparation, a general protest was drawn up by the opposition on the ground that they could not be expected to approve blindfold whatever Bills might be submitted to them. Before all the protesters had signed, however, Parliament had risen; and they had to be satisfied without recording their votes. As the votes were being taken, Charles, with a touch of character that reminds us that he was his father's son, openly wrote down the names of the dissentients. Yet with all these checks and precautions, his majority must have been a narrow one, and it was even believed at the time that there had been tampering with the votes[3]. Charles had certainly received unmistakeable warning that a Scottish Parliament might one day be as troublesome as an English one.

He left Edinburgh for England on the 18th of July. With the minority of his subjects who supported him, he had been sufficiently gracious. To the bishops he had given such importance as they had never enjoyed even in the best days of King James, and he had left behind him one new marquis, ten new earls, two viscounts, eight lords, and fifty-four knights[4]. But neither as a man nor as a king had he made a favourable impression on his

[1] Row, 366.
[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, v. 6—162.
[3] Row, 364—7.
[4] Balfour, II. 202.

subjects in general. His cold and stately demeanour was contrasted with the easy familiarity of his father, and—a sure sign of unpopularity—his personal peculiarities were petulantly criticised. So far as the public results of his visit were concerned, he had materially increased the dissatisfaction which had been growing before he came. His ecclesiastical legislation had decisively shown that he would not be content till the Church of Scotland were fashioned after the pattern of the Church of England as conceived in the mind of Laud. He had refused even to look at a petition from the ministers concerning what they called "the disordered estate of the Reformed Kirk[1]." He could at this moment afford to pass the ministers by, but he had left behind him a state of things which was one day to change their relative positions. By the Act of Revocation he had alienated many of the Scottish nobles, and he had now denuded them of political influence by the position he had assigned to the bishops in the three Estates. No order could rest quiescent under such a deadly assault on its privileges, and the Scottish nobles began to realise that their interests were bound up with that Presbyterian party which they had been the main instruments of reducing to its present low estate.

III. Laud's Liturgy.

1633 Charles's visit made no change in his general policy towards Scotland. More persistently than ever he pursued his aim of increasing the political importance of the bishops, and of assimilating the Scottish and English Churches. In the September that followed his departure he added to the list of bishops by establishing a diocese of Edinburgh; in October, under the powers that had been confirmed by the late Parliament, he sent down orders regarding the apparel of the clergy; and in the same month he directed that the English liturgy should be used in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood and in the University of St Andrews[2].

1634-5 During the late meeting of Estates it had been made clear to Charles that he must henceforth reckon on the opposition of a section of the Scottish nobles. To what such opposition might lead he convincingly showed them by a proceeding directly connected with the same meeting of Estates. This was the trial of Lord Balmerino for high treason, one of the most famous State prosecutions in the history of Scotland.

[1] Row, 362. [2] Rogers, *Reg. of Royal Letters*, II. 679, 80.

On the part of the protesting nobles a "Supplication" had been drawn up in which they sought to justify their opposition. Understanding the nature of this document, Charles had refused to receive it; but an interlined copy in the possession of Balmerino had fallen into the hands of Archbishop Spottiswoode, who at once despatched it to Charles. It could not have been pleasant reading, as it told him in plain terms that, alike in his Church policy and in his conduct of the late Parliament, he had been acting directly contrary to the constitution. Of treason in it, however, only the exigencies of Charles's position and the bad advice of those at his ear could have led him to find a trace. Yet it was on the ground of possessing a treasonable document without communicating it to his Majesty that Balmerino was thrown into prison and made the victim of a harassing trial which lasted from June 1634 till July 1635. Balmerino was the son of Sir James Elphinston, first Lord Balmerino, who in the preceding reign had been tried for treasonably concocting a letter to the Pope in the name of his master. Till the meeting of the Estates in 1633 Balmerino had taken no part in public affairs, but on that occasion he had made himself prominent among the dissenting nobles. In the end his judges found him guilty by a majority of eight to seven; but at the suggestion, it is said, of Laud himself, Charles was induced to receive him to mercy. But the injudicious proceeding had done its work. With the exception of the higher clergy, no persons of influence had viewed it with approval. It was Spottiswoode who had originated the prosecution, and it was he and his colleagues who had persistently pushed it to the end. By the mass of the people the trial was regarded with fear and indignation. "In all these days," we are told, "the common people avowedlie, with loud and high lifted up voices, were praying for my Lord Balmerino, and for all those that loved him and his cause." As for the nobles, they saw in Charles's treatment of Balmerino only another instance of his determination to break the power of their order, and to subordinate them to the new episcopate[1]. The best friends of the Crown, moreover, had followed the proceeding with dismay. Drummond of Hawthornden, by all his instincts a zealous upholder of the prerogative, in language more outspoken than the Supplication itself protested against the folly of the prosecution of Balmerino on such insufficient grounds, and gave advice to Charles which he would have been wise to follow[2].

[1] Row, 375—89, Balfour, II. 216—20; *State Trials*, III. 591—711.

[2] Professor Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden*, 236—41.

Unconscious or heedless of the general opposition to his policy, Charles went headlong on his way. In January, 1635, he made Spottiswoode Lord Chancellor of Scotland—the son of that prelate, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, being already President of the Court of Session. The same year saw decisive proof that Charles would be content with nothing less than the moulding of the Scottish Church after the idea that had shaped itself in the mind of Laud, now primate of England. Before this end could be attained, there was much in the discipline and ritual of the Scottish Kirk that would have to be fundamentally altered. In spite of all the changes effected by James, the *Second Book of Discipline* and Knox's *Book of Common Order* still held their ground; and these had to be displaced before Laud and Charles could have their way. It was decided that the Book of Discipline should give place first. In May, 1635, Charles appended his warrant to a Book of Canons, which duly found its way into Scotland in the following year. Imposed on the country without reference to General Assembly or Parliament, the new book was received with an indignation which its contents were not likely to mitigate. It designated the king as the absolute Head of the Church; it commanded the acceptance of a new Service-Book which was in course of preparation; and it prescribed observances and rites to which the immense majority of Scotsmen had shown their unconquerable aversion. But to ensure the operation of the new canons Charles had taken the most effectual means at his disposal: in October, 1634, he had established a new Court of High Commission and clothed it with powers beyond even those of that Court in the time of his father[1].

1635

The promised Service-Book was not long in coming, and under the name of Laud's Liturgy was to be one of the portentous facts in the national history. In this fatal action, also, Charles could truly say that he was but carrying out the intention of his father. It had been a strong desire of James to supplant Knox's Service-Book by one more to his mind, but he had seen the risks in the way and had prudently shrunk from giving it effect. Encouraged by the younger Scottish bishops, and prompted by Laud and his own unhesitating convictions, Charles took the step which had been too bold for his father. It cannot be said that in this matter he proceeded with undue haste. As early as 1629 he had been in communication with the Scottish

1636—1637

[1] See *ante*, p. 195.

Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.

bishops regarding a new Liturgy[1]; and the nation had become aware that the dreaded innovation must come sooner or later. On the 20th of December, 1636, the Privy Council, by Charles's order, passed an Act declaring that the forthcoming Liturgy was the only form which would thenceforth be allowed in the Scottish Church, and enjoining every minister to procure two copies for his parish under pain of outlawry[2]. In May of the following year the long-threatened volume at last made its appearance. How it would be received was a foregone conclusion. In the description of the book by the Presbyterian Row we have in the most condensed form all the reasons for the commotion that was to ensue: it was a "Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service-Book[3]." Though the term Liturgy was new in Scotland, it is to be remembered that since the day it came into existence the Scottish Reformed Kirk had never ceased to make use of a Service-Book in public worship. The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI had first been generally adopted, but its place had been taken by Knox's *Book of Common Order*, which, as we have seen, had held its ground till the period at which we have arrived. The objection to Charles's Liturgy was simply that it was Popish, that it came from England, and that it was imposed on the country by the mere *fiat* of the king. If anything further were needed to make the gift more detested, it was the universal conviction that one man, Laud—an Englishman and an archbishop—was at once the cause of the book's appearance and of its special character.

The 23rd of July, 1637, ranks with "that accursed wrathful day," the 17th of December, 1596, as one of the memorable dates in the history of Scotland. The riot of that 17th of December placed James VI in a position which enabled him to break the power of the Presbyterian clergy and to change the ecclesiastical policy of the country: the events of Sunday, the 23rd of July, were to have a precisely contrary result. 1637

Since the days of John Knox the citizens of Edinburgh had been noted for their stubborn adhesion to Presbyterian doctrine and polity. With no other section of his subjects had James VI found greater difficulty in enforcing the Articles of Perth. In 1584, Bishop Adamson, as the representative of Episcopacy, had been violently interrupted while 1637

[1] Sprott, *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI*, pp. xxxviii., xxxix.
[2] Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (Ban. Club), I. 440—1. [3] Row, 398.

conducting service in the church of St Giles. If, therefore, Edinburgh should patiently endure the new Liturgy, its example could not fail to have a good effect on the rest of the country. It was in the same church of St Giles that the experiment with the new Service-Book was now made; and, unluckily for its promoters, Edinburgh even surpassed its evil record. Every precaution was taken to ensure the decorous behaviour of the congregation. The two archbishops with several of their suffragans, the Lords of Privy Council, and the Lords of Session, were present to give solemnity to the occasion. No sooner, however, had the dean opened the new Liturgy than the tumult began. There arose "such an uncouth noise and hubbub in the Church that not any one could either hear or be heard. The gentlewomen did fall a tearing and crying that the Masse was entered among them and Baal in the Church. There was a gentleman who standing behind a pew and answering Amen to what the Dean was reading, a she zealot hearing him starts up in choler, 'Traitor (says she), dost thou say Mass at my ear,' and with that struck him on the face with her bible in great indignation and fury[1]." It was in vain that Archbishop Spottiswoode endeavoured to allay the tumult, and the service closed amid uproar and confusion—the bishop being pursued to his residence with volleys of stones and imprecations. Such was the discouraging reception of Laud's Service-Book in the leading church of Scotland.

1637

The ferment in Edinburgh represented the general state of the nation. At no period of their history—neither during the war of Independence nor at the Reformation—had the Scottish people, in all ranks and degrees, been so completely of one mind. In earlier times the great controversy would have been speedily settled. A few of the great nobles would have put themselves at the head of all who chose to join them, and dictated terms to their sovereign. But during the reigns of James and Charles nobles and people had passed through a new discipline; and the days of the Boyds and the Douglases had long gone by. Moreover, the King of Scots had now another kingdom at his back; and it was still uncertain what side that kingdom would take in the event of a struggle between Charles and his northern subjects.

[1] Gordon, *Hist. of Scots' Affairs* (Spalding Club), I. 7. This is the episode which tradition has associated with the name of Jenny Geddes, who is said to have flung her stool at the dean's head.

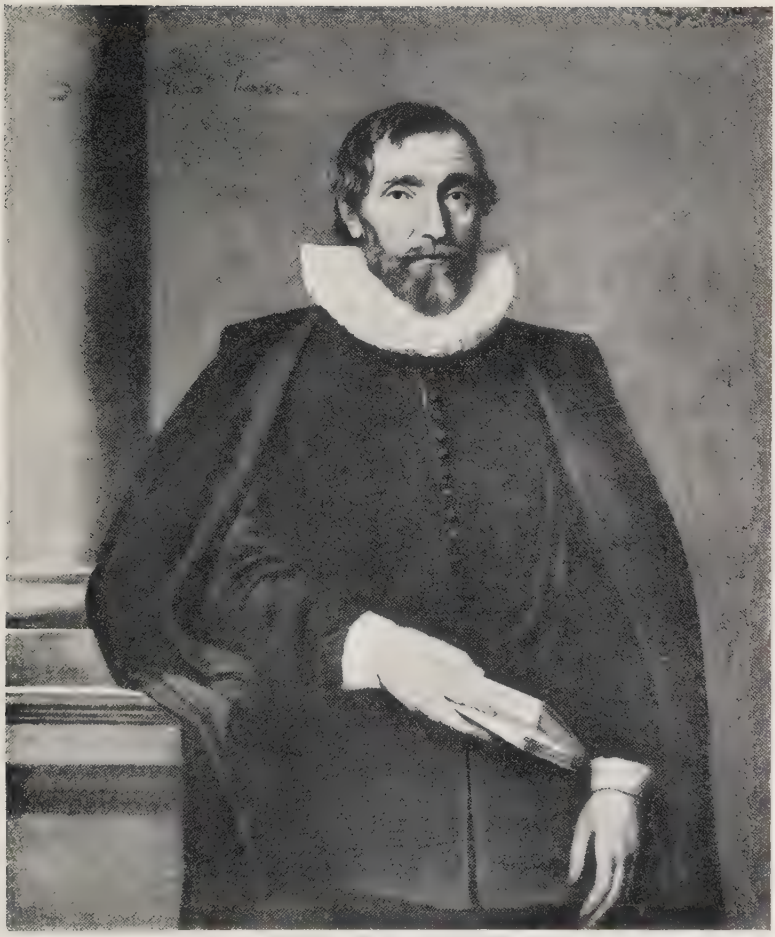
There was but one legal course open to the malcontents—petition to the Privy Council as the body that represented the royal authority. Never was there a more distracted body than the Scottish Privy Council during the months that followed the doings in the church of St Giles. Composed of lay and clerical members, it was hopelessly divided against itself—the majority of the lay lords being in more or less avowed sympathy with the tide of national feeling. Petitions or supplications, as they were called, poured in through the autumn and the first months of winter, but the Privy Councillors could only communicate with the king and await his bidding. The supplications came from nobles, lairds, ministers and burghs, and bore but one burden—the prayer that Charles would graciously relieve them from the obnoxious Liturgy. Charles was immoveable: he demanded the punishment of the ringleaders of the rioters, he insisted on the acceptance of the Liturgy, and, when on the 18th of October a fresh riot occurred in Edinburgh, he ordered the Council to remove to Linlithgow. By this last threat James VI had brought the capital to his feet; but on the previous occasion the Church was divided and the nobility were bound to the Crown. The situation was now widely different, and the withdrawal of the Council left matters precisely as they were. Two important steps on the part of the "supplicants" at length brought all issues to a point. It was impossible for the Council to transact business with the multitudes of all ranks who swarmed to the capital; and the suggestion was made that each of the four orders—the nobles, lairds, burghers, and ministers—should choose permanent commissioners to represent their desires. It was in November that these "Tables" or Committees (each consisting of four members) were appointed[1]; and on the 21st of December they presented to the Council, then sitting at Dalkeith, a collective "Supplication" which went a step beyond all their previous petitions. Hitherto they had only requested the recall of the new Liturgy: now they demanded the removal of the bishops from the Council on the ground that they should not at once be parties and judges in the issues before the country[2]. With this demand the eventful year closed.

[1] Row, 485, 6. [2] Balfour, II. 244, 5.

IV. The National Covenant.

Charles's answer to the general "Supplication" was proclaimed at the town-cross of Stirling on February 19th, 1638.
1638 The recent decision of the judges in favour of the legality of ship-money had strengthened his position in England; and his Scottish subjects were now to feel the result. The Proclamation bore that the Service-Book would be maintained, that all the late supplications and convocations were illegal, and that all such things in future would be visited as treason. The royal message had been expected for some time; and in Stirling, at the moment of its arrival, there were assembled about two thousand of the supplicants, headed by a few of the nobility. The nature of the message had likewise been anticipated, and an answer been deliberately prepared. The Proclamation had no sooner been read, therefore, than the Earl of Home and Lord Lindsay lodged a formal protestation in the name of the four orders of the petitioners. Within the next few days the same form was gone through in Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

By this public challenge the Four Tables had virtually constituted themselves co-ordinate with the Privy Council;
1638 and their only hope of making good their position was to prove to Charles that they had the nation at their back. An old Scottish custom supplied them with the most effectual machinery for accomplishing this end. In all their enterprises against the Crown the Scottish nobles and lairds had entered into a Bond or Covenant of mutual defence and common aims. Such a Covenant it was now proposed to adopt, but on a scale that had been known at no previous time. Into this Covenant, not a group of refractory barons, but the entire nation was to be invited to enter. The documents that had hitherto issued from the Supplicants had been drafted by the two most distinguished lawyers of the time, Sir Thomas Hope, the King's Advocate, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston; and to them was now entrusted the preparation of the "National League and Covenant." The result did credit to their ingenuity and skill. The basis of the document was that Negative Confession of Faith, which had been drawn up by the order of James VI in 1581, at a time when there was a specially acute alarm at the activity of Papists. The choice of this Confession, rather than that of Knox and the first Reformers, was a dexterous



Rev. Alexander Henderson.

Probably the person never lived who could have reconciled two parties so disposed to each other as Charles and the Covenanters, as they have now to be styled; but by the testimony of both sides Hamilton did not perform his task well. The part he played, and the qualities he showed were precisely those of his ancestor, the Duke of Châtelherault, in the troubles of the reign of Mary. His indecision and lack of candour inspired distrust in either party; and, like his ancestor the duke, he was even suspected of seeking to create a situation which might bring the Crown within his own grasp. Twice he came and went between the two countries; yet at the end of August the situation remained practically unchanged. From the signing of the Covenant, however, the demands of the banded nation had become more precise and peremptory. To the recall of the Service-Book and the elimination of the bishops from the Privy Council was now added the cry for a free Parliament and a free General Assembly which might settle all disputes. At length, on the 20th of September, Hamilton appeared for the third time in Edinburgh, and with instructions which seemed to imply an unconditional surrender on the part of Charles. There was to be a free Assembly, there was to be a free Parliament (the very dates of both being fixed), and the Court of High Commission was to be abolished[1]. To these concessions, however, a condition was attached, which at once marred the gift and brought little advantage to the giver. So long as the National Covenant existed, Charles believed that "he had no more power [in Scotland] than the Duke of Venice[2]"; and by a skilful stroke he proposed to extinguish that detested bond. Along with his other instructions Hamilton brought a Covenant made to Charles's own order, and thenceforth to be known as the "King's Covenant." Like that of the nation, the King's Covenant took the Negative Confession as its basis; but the bond that was superadded implied the reprobation and the annulment of the other. For some time, therefore, the singular spectacle was seen of the two Covenants in rivalry for the suffrages of the people. The object of Charles had been to divide the ranks of the Covenanters; but, skilfully devised as his stratagem had been, it signally failed. Outside of Aberdeen his Covenant received little support, and it only kept alive the suspicions which his tardy concessions might have done something to allay[3].

[1] Baillie, I. 103. [2] Burnet, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (Oxford, 1852), p. 59.
[3] Baillie, I. 106, 7.

After many fears lest Charles should withdraw his concession, the long-desired Assembly met in Glasgow on November 21. In the eyes of Charles it was a revolutionary body whose proceedings could possess no legal authority either for himself or his subjects. As he had been taught by the precept and example of his father, a General Assembly must meet by his order and give effect to his dictates. It was the contention of the Covenanters, on the other hand, that the right of summoning Assemblies belonged to the Church itself, and that they had enjoyed this right till James had unconstitutionally taken it from them. In the Assemblies that had met in the years succeeding the Reformation, the nobles and lairds, present in the capacity of elders, had outnumbered the ministers themselves; but, in the times that followed, the nobles as a body had broken with the Church and had ceased to frequent its Assemblies. At the present moment, however, ministers and nobility were united as they had been in the fervour of the Reformation; and it was in the interest of both parties that they should act in common. As arranged by the Tables, therefore, each Presbytery sent two or three ministers and one elder as their representatives in the Assembly—the elders consisting mainly of nobles or other persons of good estate in the country. That a certain amount of coercion, direct and indirect, was used in manning the Assembly was inevitable in the state of public opinion. But, in truth, no pressure was needed to effect the ends for which, in the intention of the Covenanters, the Assembly had been called. As Commissioner of the King, the duty of presiding over its meetings devolved upon Hamilton. His part had been pre-arranged, and it was one as imprudent as it was feeble. From the first it was seen that the House meant to take its own way. The Rev. Alexander Henderson, a worthy successor of Knox and Andrew Melville[1], was chosen as Moderator, and the great lawyer, Johnston of Warriston, as Clerk. As the representative of Charles, Hamilton was bound to disapprove of every proceeding of the Assembly, but he chose to oppose his authority to one particular action. Before the Assembly met, the whole bench of bishops had been summoned to appear before its tribunal at once in their private and their official character. They had refused to acknowledge the competency of the Court; but, in spite of their absence and the protest of the

1638

[1] "Incomparably the ablest man of us all for all things," Baillie says of Henderson.—I. 121.

Commissioners, the Assembly proceeded to deal with each and all of them. On the ground that this was a direct defiance of the Crown, Hamilton formally dissolved the Assembly under penalty of treason. This proceeding had doubtless been anticipated, and the Assembly steadily went through its self-imposed task. By the 20th of December, when it rose, it had deposed all the bishops and excommunicated certain of them besides; had nullified the Book of Canons, the new Liturgy, and the Five Articles of Perth; abolished the High Court of Commission; and in fine, swept away the whole ecclesiastical edifice which had been reared with such expenditure of time and pains by Charles and his father. The opportunity had been lost of establishing a moderate Episcopacy, which would have embraced all ranks of the people to an extent which Presbyterianism has failed to achieve.

In the great Scottish revolt individuals play a much less important part than in the contemporary uprising in England. Before the arrival of Hamilton, the Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer, had been the most prominent personage in Scotland; and it could be said of him that for forty years there had been no subject with so much power in his hands[1]. He was still to be a conspicuous figure in the country, but he had neither the strength of conviction nor the force of character to make him a leader in a time of revolution. Other peers who had taken a more or less notable part in the late agitations were Loudoun, Rothes[2], Cassillis, and Balmerino; but the two nobles who were to stand forth in the history of the time, and in large degree to represent its opposing issues, were the young earls of Montrose and Argyle[3]. Like the majority of his order, Montrose had resented Charles's advancement of the bishops at the expense of the nobility; and, with the impetuosity which was his leading characteristic, he had thrown himself into the revolutionary movement, and had outdone all others in securing subscriptions to the Covenant in Aberdeen. Yet it was but the accident of his position that for a time identified him with the cause of the Covenant. As has been said of him, he drew the inspiration of his life from Plutarch's *Lives* and Pagan poetry rather

[1] Baillie, 1. 6.

[2] Rothes has left a valuable contribution to the history of his times in his *Relation of Proceedings concerning the Affairs of the Kirk in Scotland from August* 1637 *to July* 1638 (Ban. Club, 1830).

[3] Montrose was twenty-six, and Argyle thirty-one years of age. Argyle had just succeeded to his title.

Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyle.

than from Calvin's *Institutes*[1]. Glory was his lode-star; and, as the record of his brilliant career amply proves, the cause or the means by which glory was to be won were his secondary consideration. As a member of the Privy Council, Argyle had been restrained from overt action against the king; but at the Glasgow Assembly he had publicly announced his acceptance of the Covenant, and thenceforward he never wavered in his devotion to its cause. Alike by his influence and his character his accession was of the first importance to his party. He could bring 5000 men into the field, and his power in his own wide dominions was that of an absolute monarch. To his type of mind and character the Calvinistic scheme of thought and rule of life presented a natural affinity which permitted him to embrace it with genuine conviction. He was the one Scotsman of his time who can be regarded as a statesman; and to him more than any other was it due that the main body of the Covenanters maintained a united front against their successive adversaries. But the careers of Montrose and Argyle were to prove that both fell short of that standard of greatness which is required of men who would lead a revolution.

V. The First Bishops' War.

In granting his late concessions, Charles had merely meant to bide his time. On December 7, 1638, he had written to Hamilton that by February or March following he would be in a position to reassert his authority[2]. As the Covenanters were perfectly well aware of Charles's ultimate intentions, both parties had long been preparing for the inevitable trial of strength. By the opening of 1639 Charles's plan of invasion, partly suggested by his minister, Wentworth[3], had taken definite shape. An army of 30,000 men, to be led by himself, was to be ready by the 1st of April; Carlisle and Berwick were to be garrisoned; a fleet was to be sent into the Firth of Forth; a force under Hamilton was to co-operate with Huntly in the north; the Earl of Antrim was to make a diversion in Argyleshire; and a body of Irish troops under Wentworth was to enter the Firth of Clyde[4]. But for this formidable undertaking Charles's resources were totally inadequate. His English subjects were more disposed to sympathise with the Scottish rebels than

[1] Professor Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden*, p. 344.
[2] Burnet, *Lives of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 136.
[3] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VIII. 354, 5.
[4] Burnet, p. 143.

with himself; and it was with grudging reluctance on the part of commons and nobility alike that money and men were forthcoming at his call. When the time to strike came, he could reckon on little more than a third of the strength he had deemed necessary for his enterprise.

With his revolted subjects it was far different. Guided by men who had their confidence, they made their preparations with a prudence and deliberation quickened by the enthusiasm of a great cause. In March, 1638, effective measures had been taken to ensure the means for national defence. Eight collectors were appointed to levy contributions in each shire; and, when war became inevitable, committees of officers who had been trained in the German wars were distributed through the country to drill every man capable of bearing arms[1]. Of special importance to the Covenanters was it that the numerous bodies of their countrymen who had served abroad chose to take their side rather than that of the king. Chief among them was Alexander Leslie, who had returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1638, and had been active ever since in the cause of the Covenant.

Before the outbreak of hostilities there was the unfailing interchange of proclamations and counter-proclamations between the two parties. It was the interest of Charles to persuade his English subjects that the Scots, their hereditary enemies, were about to repeat one of their ancient invasions of England; but, in a document, entitled "An Information for all good Christians within the Kingdome of England," the Covenanters did their best to show that the two peoples had a common enemy in their king[2]. By one publication, authorised by himself, Charles seriously aggravated his quarrel with the Scots. This was the famous "Large Declaration," mainly the work of Dr Balcanquhal, a Scottish ecclesiastic of rabid Laudian sympathies, in which the story of the troubles is told from the beginning with an obliquity of statement which passes the licence even of the theological polemic.

In March, words had to give place to deeds. The Castle of Edinburgh, which had been fortified for the king, was taken by the art of Leslie; and in the same month, those of Dunbarton, Douglas, and Dalkeith fell into the hands of the Covenanters. In view of a hostile fleet entering the Firth of Forth, Leith was sedulously fortified—"none busier in bearing

1639

[1] Rothes, *Relation*, 80; Baillie, I. 194.

[2] Row, 508, 9.

the rubbish than ladies of honour[1]." It was from Aberdeenshire, however, where Huntly's power prevailed, that most had to be feared; and to Montrose, the Earl Marischal, and Alexander Leslie the charge of that district was entrusted[2]. Thrice in the course of the spring and summer Montrose was called to fulfil the task that had been laid upon him, with the result that he effectually broke the power of Huntly and prevented his co-operation with the king. In April, Huntly and his eldest son, by an act of questionable honour, were kidnapped and conveyed to Edinburgh Castle[3]; and in June, Lord Aboyne, Huntly's second son, was beaten at Stonehaven and the Bridge of Dee at Aberdeen.

By the date when Montrose had completed his work in the north, the first Bishops' War was at an end. On the 1st of May, Hamilton's fleet sailed into the Firth of Forth, but his impotence was manifest from the first. To his command that the magistrates should publish a message from Charles a flat refusal was returned. As he lingered in the Firth, his men sickened with small-pox, while around him was an armed coast against which he was helpless[4]. Meanwhile, the main forces of the King and the Covenant were preparing for the decision of the great quarrel. On the 9th of May Leslie was appointed commander-in-chief of the Scottish army—the choice being dictated at once by a regard to his skill and experience, and with the view of preventing rivalry among the nobles. Assembling his forces on the Links of Leith, he led them by way of Dunglass and Kelso, and on the 5th of June sat down on Dunse Law, some twelve miles north of the Border. This presence of a Scottish army on Dunse Law, and the occasion that brought it, might well point the moral of the mutability of human affairs. Many a time had a Scottish army been led to the Border, but its errand had ever been revenge on the "old enemy"—England. The army on Dunse Law had come to fight against its own prince, now the sovereign of that very country to which his ancestors had for centuries been in mortal antagonism. Nor had it come filled with the old spirit or animated by the old battle-cry. Its sympathies were with the

[1] Guthrie, 54.

[2] The first blood drawn in the Civil War was at the affair known as the "Trot of Turriff," in which a few Covenanters were routed by Huntly's men (May 14).

[3] Mr Gardiner says that Montrose, in this affair, "played but a mean and shabby part."—*Hist. of England*, IX. 5.

[4] Burnet, 156, 7.

English nation rather than with its own king; and in England itself it was to find the support that brought victory to its cause. Yet never had a Scottish king led an army against England more united in mind, in equipment and discipline better fitted to give an account of a foe. There were but 20,000 men; but, in the words of one who was in their ranks, there would have been no terrors though all Europe had been arrayed against them.

Charles was at the head of no such enthusiastic and devoted host. When he reached Berwick on the 28th of May, he had but 8000 men, though by the date when he was face to face with Leslie he was able to muster 18,000 foot and 3000 horse. In numbers he had a slight advantage, but his troops were ill-disciplined, ill-furnished, and half-hearted in the cause for which they were expected to fight[1]. On the 30th of May Charles took up his position at the Birks, a piece of flat ground about three miles from Berwick on the south bank of the Tweed, and some twelve miles from Dunse Law, which Leslie occupied six days later.

A few hours' march would have brought either army to the lines of the other, and the last die might have been cast. But there were important considerations that restrained both parties from being the first to take the decisive step. It would not have been for the first time that Scottish subjects had drawn the sword against their king, and on this occasion the odds were many that victory would incline to their side. But even the most decisive victory would open up possibilities which it would be hazardous to face except in the last extremity. They could not as yet reckon on the course that affairs were to take in England, nor in Scotland could they be certain that the nation would retain its present enthusiasm for the Covenant. Moreover, without the trial of battle they had proved to Charles that at the present moment they had a power behind them more formidable than his own[2]. Moved by such considerations, the Covenanting leaders were fully disposed to come to terms with him if he would but grant the liberties for which they were willing to spend their lives. On his part, Charles had still stronger reasons for shunning battle than his enemies. On the one side of the Tweed was a disaffected nation; on the other, a nation in arms. At the present moment he was the weaker party, and it was more than doubtful if time would tell in his favour. The Scots, as became subjects, were the first to make

[1] Gardiner, IX. 18, 24, 30.

[2] Cf. Baillie, I. 218, 9.

overtures; and at Charles's suggestion, six Commissioners on each side were appointed to arrange an agreement. The negotiations began on June 6th, and were brought to a close by the Pacification of Berwick on the 18th[1]. By one Article of the Treaty Charles practically granted every demand of the Covenanters: a General Assembly was to meet on the 6th of August following, and a Parliament on the 20th of the same month. As to how that Assembly and Parliament would be composed and what would be their acts, both parties to the Treaty were fully aware; and in this one fact lay the hollowness and futility of the compact of Berwick.

VI. The Second Bishops' War.

The Treaty of Berwick had hardly been signed before recriminations recommenced, each party charging the other with the breach of its terms. To the complaint 1639
of Charles that the Covenanters had not disbanded their forces or recalled Leslie's commission, their retort was that he had not removed his garrisons from Berwick and other places on the Borders[2]. When Charles desired fourteen of the Scottish leaders to come to him at Berwick, only six appeared—Argyle being among those who refused, and Montrose among those who went[3]. It had been the avowed intention of the king to be present at the coming General Assembly and Parliament; but for reasons which are easily understood he changed his mind, and on July 29th left Berwick for London. A riot in the streets of Edinburgh, in which the Lord Treasurer Traquair had received some rough treatment, was a plausible pretext for his not risking his person in that city.

The Assembly met on the 12th of August, six days later than the date fixed at Berwick. What its action would be was a foregone conclusion. In the late arrangement 1639
Charles had declared that he would not ratify the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly, but in consenting to a free Assembly he had virtually nullified this condition. Without naming the Glasgow Assembly, the Court which now met sanctioned all its acts by which Presbytery displaced Episcopacy as the ecclesiastical polity of the country. But it took a step beyond the Glasgow Assembly,

[1] The Treaty will be found in Burnet (pp. 178, 9).
[2] Balfour, II. 334—43. [3] Guthrie, 61.

which marks a turning-point in the controversy between Charles and his subjects. At its request, the Privy Council passed an Act making the subscription of the Covenant compulsory on the whole nation[1]. By this momentous Act the Covenanters arrogated to themselves the very power which they had denied to the king and against which they had protested by defying him in open war. If the king had no right to impose his faith upon his people, had the majority a right to impose theirs on a protesting minority? How the minority answered the question was to be seen in the near future. Meanwhile, through his Commissioner Traquair, who had taken the place of Hamilton, Charles ratified every Act of the Assembly, including that which enforced the subscription of the Covenant. With what intentions he did so he had clearly explained to Archbishop Spottiswoode six days before the Assembly met. "You may rest secure," he wrote, "that, though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which will be prejudicial both to the church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both[2]."

The day after the Assembly rose, the Estates met (August 31), and remained in session till the 14th of November. The main business of their meeting was to ratify the Acts of the Assembly; and, in spite of Traquair's protest in the name of the king, they with practical unanimity accomplished their task. But there were other questions connected with the meeting of this Parliament which made it interesting in the constitutional history of the country. The absence of bishops raised a difficulty regarding the election of the Lords of the Articles. On the present occasion it mattered little to the insurgent party how these Lords should be chosen, as in any case their overwhelming majority made them masters of the House. As the election was arranged, Traquair nominated eight of the nobles, who in their turn chose eight of the barons and eight of the Commissioners of the burghs. As, however, this mode of election might become a dangerous precedent in the future, formal protests were made in the name of the nobles, barons, and burghs—Argyle, on the part of the nobles, demanding that an Act should be passed affirming the constitutional method of election by which each order should choose its own Lords of the Articles[3].

1639

[1] Peterkin, *Records*, p. 207.

[2] Burnet, 195.

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, v. 252 *et seq.*

James Graham, Marquis of Montrose.

The Parliament closed amid the profound dissatisfaction of both parties. Traquair, acting on the instructions of his master, refused to rescind any previous Acts that had been passed in favour of episcopacy[1], and by a commission under the Privy Seal dissolved the Parliament without requiring its own consent—"the like," says Sir James Balfour, "never being practised in this nation[2]."

Till Charles ratified these Acts of Parliament against Episcopacy the Covenanters could have no security for the future. 1640
Twice in the course of the winter, therefore, the Lords Loudoun and Dunfermline were sent to London to desire his assent. On their first visit he refused to hold communication with them, on the ground that Traquair was his representative in Scotland, and that they did not bear his commission; and, on the second, Loudoun was thrown into the Tower on the charge of his connivance with a treasonable correspondence with France[3]. By the spring of 1640 the Scots had convincing proofs that Charles was once more bent on an appeal to arms. At the urgent instance of Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, he summoned the "Short Parliament" with the express purpose of obtaining subsidies for a Scottish war. On their part, the Scots had no reason to shrink from the challenge. Certain of the Covenanting lords had begun to show signs of restiveness, but the defection was not sufficiently great to affect the strength of their cause. Moreover, it was every day becoming more evident that England was less willing than ever to support Charles in coercing his Scottish subjects. With as steady purpose as in the first Bishops' War, the Scots set about preparing for this new encounter with their king.

When Traquair dissolved the Estates in the preceding November, he had declared that the date of their next meeting 1640
should be the 2nd of June, 1640. There came an order from Charles, however, postponing their meeting for a month. Regarding this postponement as a mere subterfuge to gain time, the Estates duly met on the day originally appointed. By Charles and his supporters this action was regarded as a serious breach of the constitution; yet, when Charles in his own authority dissolved the Parliament of 1639, he was himself guilty of a similar offence. If the appeal were made to the past history of the country, the Covenanters had the firmest ground on which to take their stand.

[1] Burnet, 200. [2] Balfour, II. 362.
[3] Burnet, 202—4.

In the words of Sir John Fortescue already quoted, the Kings of Scots might not rule their people "by other laws than such as they assent unto"; and on numerous occasions they had been forcibly reminded that such was the condition under which they held their crown. When Charles and his father set up what was a practical despotism in their Scottish kingdom, it was they, therefore, who were the first infringers of the constitution. It was mainly for one important object that the Parliament now met without the authority of the king—the appointment of a Committee of Estates for the conduct of the war that was imminent. The appointment of such a committee had been the constant practice of the Scottish Parliament, but in this case the peculiarity was that the main business of the Committee was to make war with the king.

1640 Since the beginning of the year both Charles and the Scots had been preparing for the coming struggle. On April 17, Leslie's commission as commander-in-chief had been renewed[1], and now the War Committee vigorously exerted itself to place an adequate force at his disposal. For the raising of money a device was adopted which tested the loyalty of the Covenanters to their cause. All who possessed silver plate and ornaments were urged to send them in to be coined into money—the nobles and others becoming surety for repayment. So successful were the efforts of the Committee that by the beginning of July Leslie was in command of an effective force of some 20,000 men[2], well stored, well equipped, and enthusiastic in the cause for which they were to fight. Again, as in the previous war, there was danger from enemies who might operate in Charles's favour while he engaged the main army of the Scots. To Argyle, therefore, was entrusted the charge of defending the west coast against an expected invasion from Ireland, as likewise of imposing the Covenant in the districts of Lochaber and Athole; and to Colonel Munro and the Earl Marischal was given the task of similarly dealing with the loyalists of Aberdeen.

1640 Meanwhile, Charles had been disappointed in his hopes of a subsidy from the Parliament which he had summoned in April. Far from responding to his demand for support against the Scots, it gave him clearly to understand that its sympathies were more with the Scots than himself. Dissolving the last Parliament it was to be in his power to dissolve, he brought

[1] Sanford Terry, *Life and Campaigns of Alexander Leslie*, p. 90.

[2] The numbers are variously given.

together such an army as his means could command, and appeared at York on the 22nd of August. Alike in number and quality his force could not bear comparison with that of the Scots; and it was gradually brought home to him that this second war was likely to have the same ending as the first. On the 20th of August, Leslie had crossed the Tweed—the lot falling to Montrose to be the first to make the passage. The last time a Scottish army had entered England was the day of Solway Moss, nearly a century before; but on this occasion it came with far different ends. It came neither to plunder nor to do battle with the English people, but with the approval of their own representatives to defend a cause which had now become common to both kingdoms. Driving before him a force which opposed him at Newburn on Tyne, Leslie entered Newcastle on the tenth day after crossing the Border. Masters of the situation, the Scots followed the course they had taken at Dunse Law. They submitted a series of demands to Charles which should be made the basis of a lasting settlement[1]. The demands involved the surrender of every object on which Charles had set his heart—the abolition of the Episcopacy and the sanction of the Covenant: but he was in the grasp of a fate which left him no alternative. Simultaneously with the demands of the Scots had come the Petition of the Twelve Peers for the summoning of a new Parliament for the redress of the grievances of England[2]. Yielding to the inevitable, Charles agreed to the appointment of commissioners who should meet at Ripon on the 2nd of October, and arrange the terms of a new treaty between himself and his Scottish subjects. But there was an indispensable condition on which the Scots insisted before the negotiations should begin. The money they had brought with them was already exhausted; and, if they were forced to live at free quarters, they would speedily alienate the sympathies of the English people. Therefore, since Charles would not come to terms at once, they insisted that he should provide for their subsistence as long as he chose to protract the negotiations. On the 16th of October their demand was granted—the arrangement being that the county of Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, and the town of Newcastle should between them contribute £850 a day for the maintenance of the Scottish army during its sojourn in England[3].

[1] Rushworth, Part II., Vol. II. 1255—8.
[2] Gardiner, IX. 201.
[3] Rushworth, Part II., Vol. II. 1295.

1640—1641

The negotiations begun at Ripon had to be continued and concluded elsewhere. On November 3, 1640, met the Long Parliament, which from the day of its assembly brought home to Charles that he was no longer master of England. It was in London and with the English House of Commons, therefore, that the Scottish Commissioners had henceforth to do their business. For excellent reasons the leaders of the English Parliament were in no haste to conclude a treaty with the Scots. The Scottish army was "their own[1]," and its continued presence in England gave them precisely that hold on Charles which was necessary for the accomplishment of their ends. Through the winter of 1640 till August of the following year the Scottish Commissioners lingered on, witnessing events as startling and memorable as were in the record of Scotland itself in her conflict with her king—the abolition of the Star-Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and the Council of the North; the impeachment and doom of Strafford; and the fall of the man who, more than any other individual, had been the cause of the uprising of the Commons of both kingdoms, Archbishop Laud. The final settlement with the Scots was concluded on the 10th of August, 1641; and they could boast that the second Bishops' War had ended even more triumphantly for them than the first. Every demand they made had been granted; they had been maintained for the space of a year at the expense of a friendly nation; and they recrossed the Border with the handsome sum of £200,000 to their credit.

VII. Charles in Scotland—The Incident.

1641

Shortly before the conclusion of the Treaty of Ripon, Charles made an announcement which was received with dubious feelings alike by the Scottish Covenanters and the English Commons: he had determined to visit Scotland and preside over the Parliament which was now sitting in that country. In the gyration of events, he had been driven to look to Scotland rather than England for the recovery of the powers which had, in truth, passed for ever from his hands. Grievous as had been the offences of the Scots, they had done nothing so heinous as the execution of Strafford and the imprisonment of Laud.

[1] Baillie, I. 280.

Alexander Leslie.

Moreover, as he had been led to believe, there had of late been developments in Scottish affairs which, if skilfully directed, might be turned to good account; and it was, indeed, at the suggestion of certain persons in Scotland that he had resolved to carry out his visit in spite of the protest of the leaders of the English Parliament.

There were now two well-marked groups in Scotland who were recognised as the enemies of the Covenant and designated by names which had passed into the language of the time. The one was that of the "Incendiaries," to whose evil counsels, it was believed, was mainly due the original quarrel between Charles and his Scottish subjects. They were five in number—Traquair, the late Commissioner, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son of the Archbishop, and formerly President of the Court of Session, Maxwell, ex-Bishop of Ross, Dr Balcanquhal, the author of the "Large Declaration," and Sir John Hay. More dangerous was the other group known as the "Plotters" or "Banders," both by reason of its declared intentions and the character of its leader, the Earl of Montrose. To all appearance, there had been no more ardent Covenanter than Montrose. With sword and purse he had been equally prompt, and no one had been more energetic in coercing the lieges to the subscription of the Covenant. From the day when he was with Charles after the Treaty of Berwick, however, his gradual defection had been observable. As things had gone, they had not been entirely according to his own ideas of his importance to the cause: in council he had been overshadowed by Argyle, and in war by Leslie. Of his determination to break with the Covenant he had already given the most decisive proof. On the eve of Leslie's army entering England, it was discovered that he was in secret communication with Charles—a distinct breach of his Covenanting oath. He had become party to a bond drawn up at Cumbernauld, the mere fact of which, apart from its contents, was deemed an offence against the National Covenant; and in June, 1641, together with Napier of Merchiston, Stirling of Keir, and Stewart of Blackhall, he had been committed to Edinburgh Castle on a charge of treason against the existing constitution. As "incendiaries" and "plotters" had their respective followings among nobles, lairds, and commons, it will be seen that there was material in Scotland which might be wrought to Charles's own ends.

On the 14th of August Charles entered Edinburgh, after an encouraging reception by the army of the Scots which was still at Newcastle. The contrast between his present visit and that of 1633 was a pregnant commentary on all that had happened in the intervening years. Then he had come as a virtual autocrat to impose his will on the nation: now, in his own words, he had come to give his people "content and a general satisfaction." He showed, indeed, even undue eagerness to give them satisfaction. The Scottish Parliament had been sitting since the 15th of July, busily engaged in preparing the business which was to occupy it when Charles should arrive. The chief ground of the late war had been his refusal to ratify the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly sanctioned by the Estates in August, 1639. Now he proposed to give the desired ratification without even waiting for the usual "orders of the house." But there were still harder demands in store for him. It will be remembered that among the first actions of his reign had been his deliberate reconstruction of the Privy Council and the Court of Session by the simple exercise of his own prerogative. For this proceeding he had doubtless the example of his father; but it was justly maintained that this had been in flagrant breach of the original constitution of both Courts. The present demand, therefore, was that officers of State, Privy Councillors, and Lords of Session should be chosen by the king "with the advice and approbation" of Parliament. After a "tough dispute" Charles gave way, yet in making the concession he gained a temporary advantage, which was doubtless in his mind when he made it. A scramble immediately ensued for the various vacant offices, which seriously affected the union of the Covenanting leaders. Specially keen was the competition for the Treasurership, which had been held by the "incendiary," Traquair. The majority of the House were in favour of Argyle but so strenuous was the opposition that the office was finally entrusted to a committee of four—Argyle, Lothian, Glencairn, and Lindsay.

1641

But Charles had not come to Scotland to give all and receive nothing. He had come with the intention of creating a reaction or forming a party which he might use with effect against the Parliament of England. As it happened, the moment of his arrival was singularly inopportune for the accomplishment of his purpose. The Incendiaries and the Plotters, on whose support he

had mainly to reckon, had been effectually taken in hand by the Covenanters—the chiefs of the latter party, with Montrose among them, being safely bestowed in the Castle of Edinburgh. Against him, also, was arrayed the solid body of the Covenanters, with Argyle as their leader in council and Leslie in war. The conduct of the Marquis of Hamilton may be regarded as a sure proof of the weakness of Charles's cause, and of its unpromising future. As Hamilton and his brother, the Earl of Lanark, might justly be regarded as Incendiaries of the deepest dye, it was possible that the Scottish Estates might choose to send them the way that the English Parliament had sent Strafford and was soon to send Laud. To the indignation of Charles, and, in special degree, of Montrose, Hamilton entered into the closest alliance with Argyle, while ostensibly maintaining friendly relations with the king. The weeks of Charles's visit thus wore on, and he made no visible progress in consolidating the party for which he had hoped. The more violent of his supporters grew desperate; and certain of their proceedings showed that for the removal of Hamilton and Argyle they were ready to take the most effective weapons that came to their hands. The minds of the various chiefs were in this temper, when there happened the affair known as "The Incident," which is another of the many mysteries in Scottish history.

On the 11th of October General Leslie sent a message to Argyle and Hamilton desiring them to come to him with all possible secrecy. They found him closeted with a Colonel Hurry, who was the authority for the story he now told them. They and Lanark were to be invited that night to Holyrood House; seized by a party of some two or three hundred men, headed by two nobles; and conveyed on board the king's ship, then anchored in the road of Leith. If they offered any resistance their throats were to be cut. On this information the intended victims retired to their homes, where they made themselves safe for the night. In the morning they wrote to the king, telling the story they had heard as an explanation of their absence, and asking what he would have them do. That afternoon, when the king drove to the Parliament House, he was followed by some five or six hundred men, among whom were all the persons who were to have taken part in the affair of the preceding night. Fearing that their presence in the city might lead to a tumult, the three nobles proceeded to Kinneil House, a residence of Hamilton's on the

coast of Linlithgowshire. Such is the story told by Lanark himself. By another authority we are informed that on the removal of the three nobles, the castle was to be put in possession of Montrose, and that the garrison of Berwick and a formidable force of Borderers were to march on the city. As such a plot could have been formed only in the interests of the king, the story threw him into the deepest agitation. With tears in his eyes he demanded that the whole affair should be investigated in open Parliament. To this the House objected, and only after vehement discussion agreed to the appointment of a special committee. But if the plot had a real existence, there were too many interests involved to make it safe that it should be probed to the bottom. With Montrose among others it would have gone hard, since the chief actors were men who were his known associates and instruments. The form of an examination was conducted for a few weeks, but it was apparent that it was meant to lead to nothing; and, when the end of Charles's visit came, its result was an apparent compromise which left the Covenanting leaders more completely masters of the situation than at the moment of his coming. Argyle and Hamilton returned to Edinburgh—the former to be more powerful than ever. Leslie and Loudoun were made earls and Argyle a marquis; and, by way of compensation, Montrose and his brother plotters were relieved from their durance in the castle.

On the 28th of October Charles announced to the Estates that he had just received news which might prove to be of grave importance. It was the first announcement in Scotland of the Irish Rebellion and Massacre, which was to assume such portentous proportions in the imaginations of Charles's Protestant subjects, and to add its own chapter of horrors to the impending civil strife. The Parliament rose on the 17th of November, and in the evening Charles entertained his nobility in the banqueting-room of Holyrood. The next day he took his way southward, never again to set foot in the capital of his ancient kingdom.

VIII.—The Solemn League and Covenant.

Charles went south to even more untoward fates than he had encountered in Scotland. On broader, if not on deeper, grounds, and in more irreconcilable antagonism, Charles found himself face to face with the defiant Long Parliament. On January 4, 1642, he made his abortive attempt on the five

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members; on April 23, he summoned Hull; and on August 22, he reared his standard at Nottingham. Civil war being now inevitable, one of the supreme questions for Parliament and King was—on which side would Scotland cast its sword? Twice Scotland had led an army into the field, and brought the king to its feet; and it might be anticipated that a third such army would give victory to the cause it should adopt. From the first threatenings of strife, therefore, Charles and the Long Parliament were in eager rivalry for the support of the Scots, which, from the existing relations of the two countries, must be thrown on the one side or the other.

It was with the gravest fears that all thoughtful Scotsmen had followed the growing breach between Charles and his English subjects. Scotland, already so greatly divided against itself, must be divided still further by the decision that had now to be made. The Scottish people preferred monarchy to any other form of government, and, in spite of past quarrels, were still devoted to the king whom they had given to England. Many, therefore, who had hitherto been faithful to the Covenant, would certainly take his side in his conflict with his English Parliament, on the reasonable ground that he had granted to Scotland at least all that she had asked. Yet from the beginning it was never doubtful which side the main body of the nation would take in the coming struggle. It was their immoveable conviction—engendered by Charles's own unsatisfactory dealings—that all the concessions he had made had been wrung from him by sheer compulsion[1], and that, in the event of his triumph in England, his first act would be to recommence the old struggle in Scotland. 1642

From the beginning of the English quarrel it was evident that the Scots would be fatally divided in their sympathies. To prepare for the great decision which must sooner or later be made, a General Assembly sat in July and August, 1642, and took its usual step in times of crisis: it appointed a standing Commission to represent its desires to his Majesty and the Parliament of England[2]. By this Commission, together with the standing committee of the Estates (known as the Conservators of Peace) and the Privy Council, the affairs of the country were to be directed through the troubled times that were ahead. In November the issue was definitely placed before the country. By that date the first battle of the Civil War had been fought (Oct. 23); and, so far

[1] Baillie, II. 34. [2] Peterkin, *Records*, I. 330.

as the war had gone, the Parliament had come by the worst. In November, therefore, it made a direct appeal to the Scots on the ground of common religion and common dangers; and in December came a similar appeal from Charles. After a vehement debate in the Privy Council, it was decided by a vote of eleven to nine that only the king's communication should be published[1]. As the immediate result of this decision there followed a time of public excitement that recalled the days of the National Covenant. The Commission of the General Assembly and the Conservators of the Peace at once took steps to prove to the Privy Council that it did not represent the feeling of the country. In the beginning of the year (1643) a petition was laid before the Council demanding that the message of the English Parliament should likewise be published, and that it should be made clear that in publishing the king's declaration the Council had not meant to stamp it with their approval. In spite of a cross-petition from the Royalists, Malignants, or Banders, as they were variously called, the Council yielded both points to the favourers of the Parliament[2].

1643 It was now evident on what side the strength of Scotland would be thrown; and the Royalist and Parliamentary parties began to lay their plans accordingly. Montrose offered to raise a Scottish force for Charles on receiving a commission for that object, but by the English Royalists Montrose was regarded as an adventurer[3]; and Charles preferred to follow the peaceful counsels of Hamilton, who with dubious faith had been representing his interests in Scotland since the preceding July[4]. Fully aware of Montrose's plot and confident in their strength, the leaders of the Parliamentary party determined to hold a Convention of Estates which should authorise their future proceedings. Without warrant from the king, the Convention met on June 22nd, and took the decisive step of associating itself with the cause of the English Parliament. On July 14 there was read to the House a formal proposal of alliance on the part of that body, containing the alluring announcement than an assembly of divines was now sitting at Westminster with the express object of considering a "reformation in church discipline and ceremonies[5]." On August 2 the General Assembly met and, in

[1] Burnet, 262. [2] *Ibid.*; Guthrie, 124, 5.
[3] Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, I. 298.
[4] Burnet, 271. [5] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VI. Part I. p. 14.

concert with the Convention, gave its memorable answer to the Parliament of England. In keeping with the invariable Scottish practice, a bond of mutual defence and common action was drawn up, subscribed by both Houses, and offered as the basis of an alliance with the English Parliament. It was the famous "Solemn League and Covenant" that was to have as notable results as the National Covenant of 1639. A Confession of Faith was not made the basis of the new Covenant, yet religion was to be the essential bond and object of the consenting parties. Of the six heads of the League, the first was that for which it was to exist—the reformation of religion in the British Isles "according to the word of God," and the nearest approach possible to uniformity in doctrine and polity. It was not the kind of treaty the English Commons would have desired, had they been in a position to dictate terms. Civil liberty and not religion had thus far been the principle of their rebellion; but at the moment they could not afford to raise difficulties and delays, and on September 25 they formally accepted the Covenant after some slight modification of its terms.

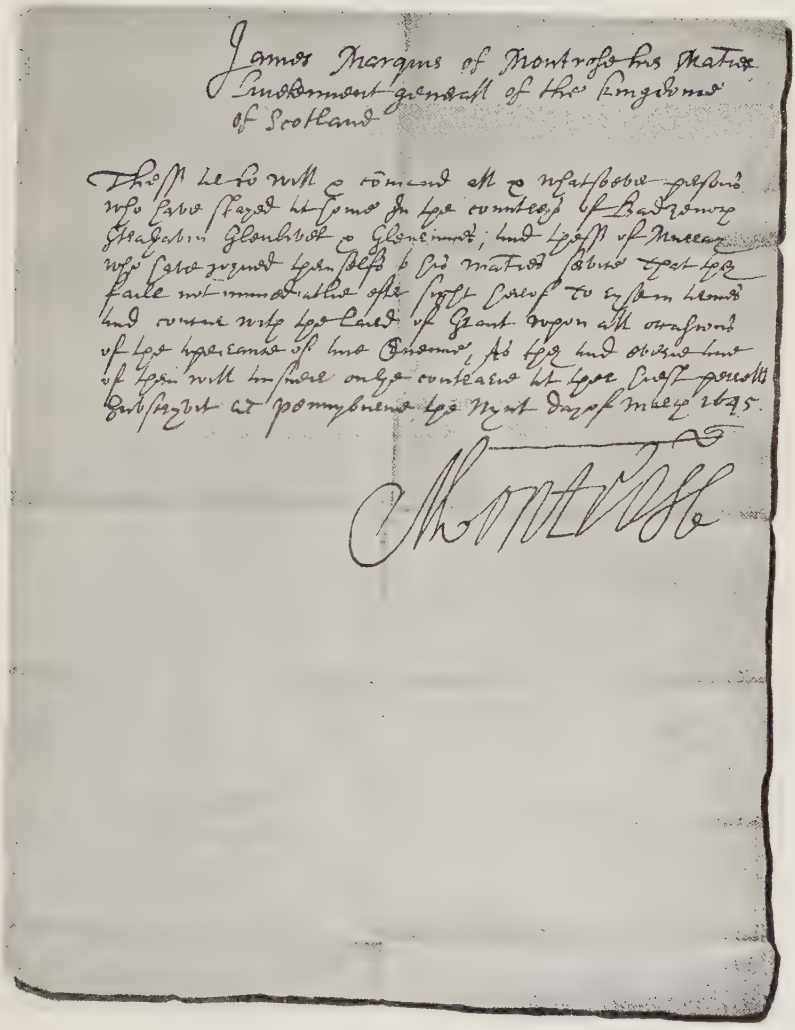
The ground being now cleared, it lay with the Scots to do what they could for their new allies. In their present cause there was not the universal enthusiasm that had produced the National Covenant and the serried ranks at Dunse Law. The mass of the country, however, was on the one side; and, but for a few nobles, there would have been little demonstration in favour of the king. By the conditions of the English treaty the Scots were to raise an army of 18,000 foot, 2000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and a train of artillery—their allies to pay £30,000 a month for its maintenance. In the beginning of January, 1644, the army was ready, and under the command of Leslie, now Earl of Leven, who had been recalled from Ireland, whither he had been sent the preceding year at the head of a Scottish contingent for the suppression of the rebellion. On the 19th of January, Leven led his army across the Tweed, and for three years it was to remain within English ground. Its presence at this moment had decisive results on the fortune of the war. The North of England was strongly Royalist, and was now held for Charles by an army under the Marquis of Newcastle. Driving Newcastle gradually before him, Leven forced on the battle of Marston Moor (July 2), in which his nephew, David Leslie, so

materially helped to give the victory to the Parliament[1]; and by the close of the autumn, mainly through the action of the Scots, all England from the Humber to the Tweed was lost to the king. Thenceforward, for reasons which will afterwards appear, their efforts grew less energetic, yet it may be said that their intervention had turned the scale in favour of the cause they had adopted. Had they cast in their lot with the king, Cromwell could not have had his full opportunity, and his destiny might have been unfulfilled.

1644 While Leslie was fighting the battles of the Parliament in England, his employers in Scotland had excellent reasons for wishing that he were at home. On February 1, 1644, Montrose received the commission which he had so ardently desired—his rival and enemy, Hamilton, having been placed in an English prison a few weeks before by Charles's command[2]. Montrose's first attempt to serve his master was not encouraging. Crossing the Border at the head of a small body of horse and foot, he made his way to Dumfries, but was forced to beat a hasty retreat to Carlisle[3]. Three months later (Aug. 18) he entered on the career which was to make him one of the equivocal heroes of his country. Disguised as a groom and attended by only two companions, he traversed the Scottish Lowlands, and reached the house of a friend near the town of Perth. Since the beginning of the Civil War, Charles had been in communication with the Marquis of Antrim for the landing of an Irish army on the west coast of Scotland; and it was to take command of this army that Montrose was now in Scotland. The Irish contingent appeared, but instead of 10,000 men as had originally been expected, it amounted only to about 1600. They consisted of Irish and Scoto-Celts, and were led by a gigantic and ferocious Highland chieftain, Alastair Macdonald, whose name is embalmed in the sonnet of Milton. To have led such a band against his Lowland countrymen is an indelible stain on the character of Montrose, and is palliated only by the fact that it was with Charles's connivance and approval that he did so. Since the Irish rebellion and massacre, Irish Celts had come to be regarded

[1] Sanford Terry, pp. 250 *et seq.*—For the part taken by the Scots at Marston Moor see also Mr C. H. Firth's remarks in his paper on Marston Moor, pp. 57 *et seq.* (*Transactions of the Royal Hist. Society*, Nov. 8, 1899).

[2] Burnet, 346. [3] Wishart, *Memoirs of Montrose* (1819), pp. 55—7.


James Marquis of Montrose his Matie
Lieutenant generall of the Kingdome
of Scotland

These Lres will comand all & whatsoeve psons
who have stayd at home in the countreys of Badzenoch
Strathaven Glenlivet & Glencarne, and Lres of Marcus
who have ingaged themselves & their mainteinance that they
faile not immediatlie after sight hereof to repaire hieme
and convene with the said Lr of Grant vpon all occasions
of the kingis affaires as they and everie one
of them will answere vnder the hiest panes
that may ensue at pennyhorne the first day of March 1645.

Proclamation by the Marquis of Montrose, March 9, 1645.

as mere brute beasts who neither gave nor expected quarter[1]. In the cause for which Montrose was to fight, these auxiliaries had no interest whatever, and their sole motives were simple plunder or revenge. Yet as warriors they possessed qualities which rendered them formidable in the field. They were capable of a rapidity of movement impossible for regular troops, and of a barbaric fury of onset against which untrained levies were helpless. To command such a host the impetuous Montrose was the natural leader.

It was the opinion of the more sagacious of the leaders of the Scots that Montrose would be most effectually met by a purely defensive campaign. When gorged with booty, his barbaric hordes would after their usual fashion desert his standard or fall out among themselves. Urged on by the ministers, however, they chose to send against him successive bodies of raw levies, led by generals either incapable or hampered by meddling war-committees. Their first experience of Montrose's prowess might have taught them a wiser policy. On the 1st of September he put to rout at Tippermuir a body of burghers more than twice his own force in strength. A fortnight later (September 13) the same story was repeated at Aberdeen, where a few years before Montrose had so greatly distinguished himself as champion of the Covenant. The scenes of horror that followed this action sent a shudder through Scotland at the possible triumph of the destroying host. But it was fatal to Montrose's enterprise that Huntly, the great potentate of the North, who had such good reason to distrust and hate him, stood coldly aloof, and pursued his usual course of playing with both parties. It was at the man whom above all others Montrose most bitterly detested, the Marquis of Argyle, that he dealt his next blow. In December he laid waste the Argyle country, including its chief head-quarters, Inverary; and at Inverlochy on February 2 of the following year, inflicted a decisive defeat on Argyle himself, who, though great in council, was not great in war. Dundee next (April 4) saw the conqueror, but, when beginning a sack that was to be a repetition of that of Aberdeen, he was surprised by the enemy, and escaped only by the agility that was the distinguishing characteristic of his host. Two generals, Baillie and Hurry, were now upon his track; but, their forces having been divided, Hurry

1644—1645

[1] Patrick Gordon (*Britain's Distemper*, 161), a Royalist writer of the period, says of the Irish that "to them there was no distinction between a man and a beast."

was humiliated at Auldearn, near Inverness (May 9). Baillie's turn came next. Baillie was an officer of experience and judgment, but the Committee of Estates would not let him fight in his own way. At Alford on the Don (July 2), he experienced the same fate as his predecessors; and no army was left to oppose the all-conquering general. Within a month, however, another force was raised and placed under the command of Baillie, who now had not to go far in search of the enemy. Emboldened by his unbroken success, Montrose crossed the Forth, and the two armies met at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire. Again Baillie was driven to act against his better judgment, and with the result that Kilsyth was the most brilliant of Montrose's triumphs and the most disastrous for the vanquished (August 15). For the moment it seemed as if Scotland were at his feet. Glasgow surrendered at his summons, and gave in its submission; the Royalist prisoners in Edinburgh were liberated at his mandate; a few inconspicuous nobles drew to his side; and in his Majesty's name he summoned a Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 20th of October[1].

1645 But Montrose had reached the term of his triumphs, and disaster was now to add its crowning touch to the romance of his career. In the preceding June the cause of the king had been lost on the field of Naseby, and it was beyond the power of Montrose to redress the balance in Scotland. His motley following, glutted with booty and carnage and with no attachment to the cause of their leader, deserted him in troops in spite of prayers and promises and threats. By the entire population of the Lowlands he and his host were regarded as instruments of Satan whom it behoved all God's people to fight to the death alike with the sword of the flesh and the spirit[2]; and great nobles with Royalist sympathies, such as Roxburgh, Home, and Traquair, were not prepared to risk their lives and estates for a falling cause. In a final field Montrose was for the first time to meet a body of trained troops, led by a general with the skill and the freedom to direct them. In the beginning of September David Leslie crossed the Tweed at the head of 4000 horse and a detachment of infantry on the express mission of dealing with the unconquered enemy. Montrose had advanced towards the Borders in the vain hope of some substantial addition to his

[1] Wishart, Montrose's chaplain, who wrote his *Memoirs*, is our main authority for the details of Montrose's campaigns.

[2] Montrose had long been excommunicated.

diminished band, and it was Leslie's object to cut him off from the Highlands. At Gladsmuir in Haddingtonshire, however, Leslie ascertained that Montrose was lying at Selkirk, and marching down the Gala Water came within four miles of his camp on the night of the 12th of September. Montrose had taken up an apparently strong position at Philiphaugh on the left bank of the Ettrick, nearly opposite the town of Selkirk. His left was defended by a steep declivity, and his right by the Ettrick, the further bank of which rendered it impassable at that particular point. Dykes and hedges protected other parts of his line, and, where these were insufficient, ditches had been dug as a further defence. By these obstacles as well as the nature of the ground a large body of cavalry would be prevented from acting with full effect.

According to one account, Montrose spent the night of the 12th in writing despatches, totally unaware of Leslie's proximity; if we are to accept another, both camps lay under arms, in readiness for attack. The next morning was foggy, and Leslie, marching up the left bank of the Ettrick, came within half-a-mile of the enemy before he was observed. On hearing of his approach, Montrose galloped down the steep incline leading from Selkirk, and joined his men on the opposite side of the river. The battle began with a cavalry skirmish which led to no decisive result, and it was followed by Montrose's ordering the advance of a band of musketeers, who were beaten back with loss. Between eleven and twelve o'clock Leslie made a general attack, but he was met with such resolution that he was unable to break the enemy's line. But Leslie had a surprise in reserve which assured to him the fortune of the day. Before the action began, he had despatched a body of foot round a hill on his right[1], which at a given moment could fall on Montrose's left flank and rear. When the moment came, Leslie led a charge at the head of his own regiment; and, attacked in front and rear, the army of Montrose was thrown into hopeless confusion and for the first time he knew defeat. Attended by a few friends, he made his way over the neighbouring hills to Peebles, and thence with all expedition sought the depths of the Highlands, where alone his head was safe. The victory was followed by a hideous crime, for which Montrose himself was primarily responsible. By the nature of the forces he had chosen to lead

[1] Linglee Hill. This fact is recorded in a ballad on the battle of Philiphaugh. The authorities widely disagree as to the numbers engaged on either side.

against his own countrymen he had made the civil war internecine. Of his followers it was said by a contemporary Royalist historian that "they killed men ordinarily with no more feeling of compassion and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hen or a capon for supper[1]." Of such foes it might be said that they were without the pale of humanity; and in this conviction every prisoner at Philiphaugh was put to the sword—not even the female camp-followers, it is said, being spared[2].

The only visible result of Montrose's year of victories was that it imparted into the strife of parties a spirit of vindictive ferocity of which the coming years were to see the lamentable effects. Thenceforward, the deterioration of Royalists and insurgents alike becomes every day more visible. Principles are lost in passion, the moral sense of the nation is distorted and seared by disingenuous pleadings and repeated acts of cruelty; and victory at all costs becomes the aim of each faction. To this debasement of the national character nothing contributed more than the futile and ill-judged enterprise of Montrose.

IX. The Engagement. Death of Charles.

"Our shame and skaith," writes the Covenanter Baillie, "was not so great these six hundred years as this last year" (1645). The destroying career of Montrose had occasioned sufficient misery and dismay; but, in addition to pitiless civil war, pestilence had raged in the land and wrought more havoc than plundering hosts. Worse than all, in the eyes of good Covenanters, the great hopes that had been entertained of the alliance with the English Parliament, had, as we shall see, been hopelessly blasted; and the army of the Scots had crossed the Border in vain. The defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh had relieved the Covenanting party from immediate danger; but, as long as such a formidable enemy was in the country, there could be no security for the public peace. Hardly a month after Philiphaugh, indeed, Montrose was in the Lennox at the head of another force and threatening Glasgow. As, however, his conqueror, David Leslie, was in the city, he was forced to withdraw to the north, where the opposition of his enemy,

[1] Gordon, *Britain's Distemper*, 161.

[2] After the battle of Naseby the female camp-followers of the Royalist army were similarly butchered.

David Leslie.

the Earl of Huntly, effectually prevented him from renewing his actions of the previous year. By the close of the autumn the country was deemed so secure that Leslie was permitted to return to England.

The terrors of the last year, however, had gone deep into the public mind, and for the first time since the outbreak of the national quarrel there rose a clamour for the blood of political and religious opponents. As is usual in times of public excitement, it was certain of the clergy who pressed for the extremest measures[1]. Besides the rank and file of the captives at Philiphaugh, there were several persons of distinction taken who had played an active part in the campaigns of Montrose. At the end of October three of these were executed in Glasgow—David Dickson, once a moderator of the General Assembly, exclaiming in words that ran through the country, "The work goes bonnily on[2]." The fate of still more distinguished victims was decided by the Parliament which met in November, 1645; and in January of the following year three of them suffered death at St Andrews, where the Parliament was sitting—among the three being Sir Robert Spottiswoode, once President of the Court of Session and son of the Archbishop. Since the beginning of the troubles, Spottiswoode had been a steady adversary of the insurgent party. He had abetted Charles's high-handed dealings with Balmerino, and by his efforts to embroil the king with his subjects he had been noted as one of the band of the detested "Incendiaries." It was on two main charges, however, that he received his sentence: he had signed the king's commission to Montrose, and after the battle of Kilsyth he had joined that leader and followed him till the day of Philiphaugh[3]. The English Parliament, by the execution of Strafford and Laud, had set the example how to deal with political adversaries, and the Scots were energetically emulating it. 1645—1646

If the Scots were thus unhappy at home, the course of events in England did not promise a more cheering future. When in 1644 their army had crossed the Border to the aid of the English Parliament, it was with the glorious prospect that on the basis of the Solemn League and Covenant Presby- 1645—1646

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VI. Part I. p. 498.

[2] So, at least, says Guthrie (*Memoirs*, 208), though he is hardly a fair witness where a Covenanter is concerned.

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, V. Part I. pp. 522, 3.

terianism would become the faith and polity of the two nations. That the Scots should ever have entertained such a hope showed a pious simplicity which at least avouched the honesty of their convictions. A less ardent faith and a more adequate acquaintance with the national character and the religious history of the English people might have convinced them that in the nature of things the unity which they craved could only be a dream. To their unspeakable disillusion, they gradually learned how far their hopes had led them astray. By the defeat of Charles at Naseby (June 14, 1645) the English Parliament was assured of final victory; and the Scots, whose alliance it had so eagerly sought, became an incumbrance rather than welcome auxiliaries. The Scottish army had entered England on the express condition that it should be maintained at the expense of their allies; but, when their services became no longer necessary, their pay was more grudgingly given and finally stopped. Recriminations began on both sides—the English taunting the Scots with their inefficiency, and the Scots retorting that their army was left unclothed and unfed. The quarrel was mainly due to the growing predominance of the sect of Independents of whom Cromwell was the great representative and leader. Alike by their ideas of doctrine and Church government, Independents and Presbyterians could only be irreconcileable enemies. The creed of Presbyterianism was a body of absolute divinity to which all its supporters must give in their unconditional adherence; while Independency left the individual to his own construction of the Bible and to his own spiritual affinities. In its machinery of Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, Presbyterianism possessed a system of Church polity which subordinated every part to the whole and effectually checked individual eccentricity, whereas each congregation of Independents was a separate unit, related to its neighbours only as far as it might choose. To natural antagonism was added a cause of misunderstanding which every day made the breach wider. Charles, seeing his cause hopeless, had to choose between the Scots and the English Parliament with whom to risk his person and retrieve his fallen fortunes. To hustle the Scots out of England, therefore, became the paramount desire of all England that had been in arms against the king—the Independents being the most eager of all for this result. To the indignation of the English parties, the event which they dreaded took place: on the 5th of May, 1646, Charles rode into the Scottish camp at South-

Shires mainly Covenanting coloured .. }
,, ,, Royalist coloured.....

In other Shires the two parties were mixed in various proportions.

Map showing the division of Covenanters and Royalists from 1644.

well, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire; and with their precious charge the Scottish army withdrew to Newcastle as a safer vantage-ground from which to treat with the English Parliament.

The negotiations which had preceded Charles's surrender to the Scots had turned on one fundamental point: would he accept the Solemn League and Covenant or not? 1646 On the sole condition that he would, the Scots had declared their willingness to receive him and to do their utmost to reinstate him on the thrones of both kingdoms. Yet, when he put himself in their hands, no definite agreement had been made between the two parties[1]. The Scots might well hope that in the desperate state of his affairs Charles would at length with honest purpose accept the condition which they offered. But Charles likewise had hopes of his own. From the relations of the Scots and the English parties there was every likelihood that their present quarrel would end in a war which would rally round him a powerful party in both kingdoms, and enable him to renew the late struggle under far more favourable conditions. As the event proved, both Charles and the Scots were equally deceived. To every entreaty to accept the Covenant Charles turned a deaf ear; and, on their part, the Scots were as immoveable in their resolution to make no terms with him save as a Covenanted king. Meanwhile, the English Parliament was more bent than ever on ridding the country of the Scots and on gaining possession of the king. To effect the first object it at length reluctantly agreed to pay a proportion of the formidable arrears due to the Scots. The bill presented amounted to nearly £2,000,000, but the Scots had to be satisfied with £400,000, of which they were to receive half before they quitted the country.

With regard to the person of the king the Scots had three alternatives before them. They might put him at liberty to go abroad; they might carry him with them to Scotland; and they might surrender him to the English Parliament. To have permitted him to go abroad would in all probability have involved the renewal of civil war at no distant date, as Charles had already been long in negotiation for the assistance of foreign powers. To have introduced him to Scotland would have been an act of madness on the part of the Scots, which would have endangered every advantage they had gained at such expense of treasure

[1] This follows from the subsequent relations between Charles and the Scots.—Montreuil Correspondence (*Scot. Hist. Soc.*), I. 192.

and blood. Charles had refused to accept the one condition on which they would have him as their king; and his presence in Scotland, as the past had already proved, would have been a source of disturbance which would have been fatal to the existing settlement. The alternative of handing him over to his English subjects was, in truth, the course which the interests of both kingdoms peremptorily demanded. The English Parliament had given the Scots clearly to understand that their refusal to put the king in their hands would be regarded as a declaration of war. The Scots had let Charles know that they would gladly abide this threat, if he were willing to accept their terms; but to fight for Charles on his own conditions would have been to stultify and undo all their action of the last ten years. The late civil war had been the result of a quarrel between Charles and his English subjects; and it was reasonable and fitting that they should be left to settle their differences as best they might. The tragedy at Whitehall, which was to close the great controversy as far as Charles was concerned, was a contingency which no one could foresee in the transaction of his surrender. That the coincidence of the payment of arrears and the handing over of Charles should be malevolently construed by party-feeling was in the nature of things: calmly viewed in the light of actual facts the conduct of the Scots bears no such construction.

When in the beginning of February, 1647, the Scottish army finally recrossed the Tweed, it was, as we have seen, with its main object unaccomplished and with no prospect of its ever being so. But though a Presbyterian Britain had proved a dream, the Scots had not allied themselves with the English Parliament in vain. From the Assembly of Divines at Westminster[1], which had been held out to them as such a strong inducement to accept the English alliance, they derived a bequest that makes that assembly one of the notable factors in Scottish history. The existing Confession of Faith of all the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland; the version of the Psalms, intertwined with the most sacred feelings of the Scottish people; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, which have made them a nation of theologians—all came from the Westminster Assembly, and produced that astonishing precision of thought regarding the mysteries of human destiny which has ever since been one of the national characteristics.

[1] It met on the 13th of June, 1643, and continued its sittings till the 22nd of February, 1649.

Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston.

The Scottish army was immediately disbanded on its return—6000 foot and 1200 horse being kept together for service against the Gordons in the North and the Macdonalds in Cantyre[1]. Both Gordons and Macdonalds were suppressed by David Leslie; but far more formidable to the public peace was the fatal cleavage which now began to appear in the nation at large. The revolt against the royal authority in Scotland had succeeded through the common action of the nobility and the Church which ensured the support of the immense majority of the people. The main reasons for the action of the Scottish nobles had been their alarm at the possible results of the Act of Revocation, and their jealousy of the new powers of the bishops. But they were still in possession of their estates, and bishops had ceased to exist. To the feudal instinct for a sovereign lord, therefore, they could now safely yield, since, whatever Charles might do if restored to power, he would at least avoid his former blunder of alienating his nobility. To foster these tendencies was the work of Hamilton and his brother, Lanark, now both freed from their English prison and in the thick of affairs in Scotland. All negotiations between Charles and the English parties had failed, but he at length succeeded in the game which he had all along sought to play. He divided his enemies among themselves and was beguiled by a momentary hope that he might yet have them all under his feet. At his prison in Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, three Scottish Commissioners,—the Lord Chancellor Loudoun, and the Earls of Lanark and Lauderdale,—made a secret treaty with him (Dec. 27, 1647) by which they engaged to put the arms of Scotland at his disposal. By this treaty, known as the "Engagement," Charles agreed, in the event of his restoration to power, to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years and to suppress the Independents and all other sectaries. The Covenant he refused to make compulsory, but undertook to have it confirmed by Act of Parliament. As the publication of the Engagement would have meant the immediate invasion of Scotland by an English army, it was wrapped in lead and buried in the garden of the castle.

To make their pledge good was now the object of the Hamiltonian party in Scotland. On the 2nd of March, 1648, the Estates met in Edinburgh—their principal business being to take measures for immediate action against England. The composition of the Estates showed how vast a change had come over

[1] Guthrie, 240—3.

the spirit of the nation since the year of the Solemn League and Covenant. Out of more than fifty nobles only nine or ten were for the Covenant, of the barons less than half; while almost all the Commissioners of the larger towns went with Hamilton[1]. With this commanding majority the party of the king had little difficulty in carrying things to their own mind. On April 11 they sent what was virtually an ultimatum to the English Parliament, in which they demanded the liberation of the king, the disbanding of the army and the establishment of Presbyterianism in accordance with the Solemn League and Covenant[2], and further Acts were passed for the raising of forces for the immediate invasion of England. It was by the show of insisting on the Covenant that Hamilton had gained such large support throughout the country, but there was still a formidable section who were not beguiled by his specious promises. The majority of the Covenanting clergy were immoveably convinced that, if Charles were once securely on his throne, the Covenant would receive short shrift at his hands. To the Engagement they objected that it bound the king to no definite pledge regarding religion, and that the party by whose side they were expected to fight in England were those very Malignants who had been the mortal enemies of the Covenant[3]. The ministers found strenuous support in various parts of the country: supplications against the levy poured into the Parliament; the women of Edinburgh, ever demonstrative, stoned the Provost and Hamilton himself; and in the west, the feeling was so strong that an actual rising took place on Mauchline Moor, which had to be crushed by military force. It was in the teeth of this opposition that Hamilton raised his army; and its character was what might have been expected. Its numbers were between ten and eleven thousand; the cavalry were raw and undisciplined; not one man in five could handle pike or musket; and not a single field piece was forthcoming[4]. Nor did enthusiasm make up for lack of equipments and discipline, since the majority of the troops had been impressed into a service which they abhorred. As Hamilton himself was to be the leader of this hopeless host, its fate was a foregone conclusion. On July 8 the Scots crossed the Border, and in three days' fighting (August 17—19) were cut to pieces

[1] Baillie gives the names of the lords. They were Argyle, Eglinton, Cassillis, Lothian Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerino, Cupar, and Burley.—III. 35.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VI. Part II. pp. 23 *et seq.*

[3] Baillie, III. 42.

[4] Burnet, 450.

by Cromwell at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. On the 25th Hamilton surrendered at Uttoxeter where he had been cut off with a handful of his followers, and the Duke's campaign was at an end.

The destruction of Hamilton's army once more changed the situation in Scotland. On the news of the defeat Loudoun, now an Anti-Engager, and the Earl of Eglinton marched on Edinburgh at the head of 6000 men drawn from the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark. Edinburgh resisted them with open arms, and they were supported in other parts of the country by forces led by Argyle and Cassillis. The Earl of Lanark, now the head of the Engagers, made a heroic struggle, but was forced to accept conditions which gave to Argyle and the Protesters or Anti-Engagers the direction of affairs. Next was seen another strange turn in this surprising time. On the 5th of October, Cromwell appeared in Edinburgh, and had a friendly supper with Argyle and Johnston of Warriston at Moray House in the Canongate; and the result of his visit was an agreement between the Anti-Engaging Covenanters and Independents to make common action against all forms of Malignancy.

The unnatural alliance between Covenanters and Independents was soon put to a test which proved that it had only been the exigencies of the moment that had made it possible. On the 5th of December Pride's Purge put an end to the power of the Long Parliament, and the army, swayed solely by the Independents, demanded the trial of the king as the prime cause of all the nation's misfortunes. Against this action Scotsmen of every type of opinion were united alike in fear and indignation. Monarchy they all regarded as the natural form of government, sanctioned by Heaven and consecrated by immemorial custom. Charles, as every Scot believed, was the 107th in the line of their kings. It was as the representatives of the national feeling, therefore, that Commissioners, despatched by the Estates to London, lodged a vehement protest against the intended act of the Independent leaders. When the Scots had placed Charles in their hands, they had declared that it was on the express condition that he should suffer no harm in his person[2]; and they now added a solemn warning regarding what was likely to ensue on the removal of the

[1] This expedition was known as the "Whiggamore's Raid." "Whiggam" was the word used in the West in urging horses.

[2] This was true.—*Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VI. Part 1. p. 658.

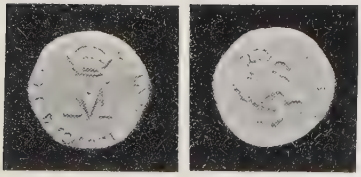
king[1]. A time had been when a protest of the Scots might not have been ineffectual with the leaders of the English revolt; but that time was now past. Late events had revealed the impotence of Scotland through its opposing factions; and the chiefs of the Independents were bent on courses which nothing but superior force could arrest. On the 30th of January, 1649, Charles was executed before the Banqueting House of Whitehall—the second Scottish prince of the Stewart House to die a public death by English hands.

Since Scotland had embraced the Reformation, it had been her perverse destiny to be ruled in succession by three sovereigns, all of whom were in antagonism to the deepest convictions and aspirations of her people. Of all the rulers of his race, Charles had most hopelessly failed in his kingly office. It may be said that he was wrecked by a theory of that office which made him impossible as a ruler of men. In his own eyes he was simply the vicegerent of Heaven, whose will his subjects could legitimately challenge under no conceivable circumstances. But that in the 17th century he could conceive and act on such a theory in so rigid and fanatical a fashion, is conclusive proof of the essential narrowness of his mind and nature. In other times and in other circumstances he might have found a people who might have taken him at his own estimate and whom he might even have ruled with beneficence. But it was his unhappy fate to rule a people, the majority of whom were convinced that the counsels of Heaven had been committed to themselves. They believed that the Calvinistic creed and the Presbyterian polity were divine in their origin and obligatory alike on individuals and nations. In this opposition of absolute sanctions the ordinary relations of prince and subject were impossible. But it is to be noted that it was the impracticability of Charles that had produced the deadlock. It is certain that, had he been content to leave things as he found them when he came to the throne, the ecclesiastical development of Scotland would have followed a different course. By his policy with regard to the Liturgy he revived the spirit of Andrew Melville, and drove the majority of the clergy to the conviction that the only safety of the Church lay in the affirmation of the absolute sanction that belonged to their own system of faith and doctrine. When he was worsted in the quarrel he had provoked, his personal character made reconciliation impossible.

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VI. Part II. pp. 129, 30.

Thistle Noble (Gold) of James VI.

Ten-shilling Piece (Silver) of James VI (1595).



Billon Coin (Lion or Hard head) of Mary.

Turner or Bodle (Copper) of Charles I or II.

While ostensibly yielding to the demands of his subjects, he hardly concealed the fact that his concessions would stand only till the first opportunity of recalling them. If he had failed in his government of Scotland and succeeded in England, it might have been said that the Scots had always been a difficult people to govern, as so many of his predecessors had known to their cost. But it is a further grave indictment against Charles that he failed as signally in his government of a people so widely different in their character and history as the English from the Scots. In England the grounds of quarrel were different; but it was by the action of the same qualities—imprudent assertion of his prerogative in his time of power and duplicity in defeat—that he forfeited the allegiance of its people, and moved with fatal steps to the tragic close at Westminster and Whitehall.

The constitutional changes of Charles's reign are so essentially bound up with the national quarrel that they have necessarily made part of the foregoing narrative. The revival of the influence of the General Assemblies is the most notable fact of the period. From 1639 onwards this influence was so great that Parliament found its strength only in deferring to their expressed wishes. The casting out of the bishops, the revival of the ancient method of electing the Lords of the Articles, and the triennial Parliaments, were the constitutional changes by which the revolutionary party sought to undo the work of Charles and his father. In the opening years of his reign Charles had shown that, when the question of his prerogative was not at stake, he was seriously interested in the well-being of his northern kingdom. In 1628 he revived the Commission for the Middle Shires, which, originally created by his father, had been in abeyance since Charles's own accession. The same year saw his revival of an institution with wider action for good. This was the system of Justice-Ayres, which he was the first to place upon a solid and effective basis. By the arrangement which he made there were to be eight itinerary justices—two for each quarter of the kingdom; and the month of October was fixed for the annual circuit[1]. These same opening years in Scotland raised another question regarding the possible development of Charles's reign. By the year 1628 the country was virtually in a state of bankruptcy. In February of that year his Privy Council wrote to him that the exchequer was empty and that public business had come to a deadlock. In 1625 a grant had been

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. II. (Second Series), Index, *s.v.*

made of the twentieth penny of all annual rents; but so great had been the opposition to the tax that it had been found impossible to raise it in anything like full measure. A few more burdens of this kind, and Charles would have had to face in Scotland the same difficulties that led to his breach with the Parliament of England. But in Scotland the controversy was to rest on other grounds. Before his financial straits could produce what appeared to be an inevitable crisis, the ecclesiastical question arose and absorbed the public mind to the exclusion of every other.

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTLAND AND THE COMMONWEALTH. DUNBAR AND WORCESTER (1649—1651).

ON February 5, six days after the execution of Charles I, the Scottish Estates proclaimed his son King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland[1]. This was a direct challenge to the revolutionary party in England, and as such it was regarded. Three weeks later the Scottish Commissioners in London were dismissed in a fashion that proved how keenly the proceeding of the Estates had been resented. 1649

The proclamation of Charles II was necessitated by the force of national feeling, but it placed the country in a position which revealed all its weakness and could issue only in disaster. We have seen how the "Engagement" had cleft the nation in twain: the recognition of Charles II was to make the confusion worse confounded. The chief men responsible for the conduct of affairs—Argyle, the Chancellor Loudoun, and Johnston of Warriston[2]—were in a predicament from which no peaceful statesmanship could have extricated them. In the autumn of 1648 they had struck a bargain with Cromwell, and in January, 1649, the Estates had passed an Act which declared irreconcilable war with every form of Malignancy. This was the famous Act of Classes which distinguished four degrees of atrocity among those who had scorned the Covenants, and disabled all of them thenceforth from holding military or civil office till they had proved their faithful repentance[3]. Yet, in the mutation of events, the understanding with Cromwell and the Act of Classes were followed by the offer of the Crown to "the greatest malignant of all." The offer, indeed, was clogged with an important condition: Charles was to be acknowledged king of all his dominions only after he had pledged 1649—1650

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, VI. Part II. p. 157.
[2] As will afterwards be seen, Warriston eventually deserted the party of Argyle.
[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, VI. Part II. pp. 143—147.

himself to the two Covenants which his father had so steadfastly rejected. Whether the son would prove more accommodating than his father had now to be tried. In March negotiations were opened with the youthful prince, then at the Hague; and the difficulties of the transaction immediately appeared. For Charles Scotland was but a stepping-stone to England, but his acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant would have closed the door to England in his face. As it happened, there were two other possibilities before him at this moment, which induced him to postpone a definitive arrangement with the Scottish Commissioners. In Ireland the Marquis of Ormond was exerting himself to restore the Royalist cause, and the sanguine Montrose was holding out hopes that Scotland might be won in the teeth of Argyle and his fellow-Covenanters. By September the sword of Cromwell had cut off Charles's hopes in Ireland, and he found himself driven to make what bargain he could with the Scots. On May 1, 1650, he signed the draft of an agreement[1] at Breda, and at Heligoland (June 11), when on the point of sailing for Scotland, he put his name to the final form of the treaty. He was now what his father had never been—a covenanted King of Scots.

1650

Before Charles sailed for Scotland Montrose had once more tempted fortune and had closed his adventurous career. Publicly disowned, but privately encouraged[2] by Charles, he landed at Kirkwall in Orkney, in the month of March, and in April began his enterprise in Caithness at the head of some 1200 men. A year earlier he would have found the nucleus of a Royalist host which might have materially strengthened his arms, but at Balveny in Banff David Leslie (May, 1649) had crushed the force that would have joined the invader[3]. To Leslie was now committed the task of dealing with the enemy of whom he had given such good account at Philiphaugh. His success on the present occasion was even more swift and decisive. At Carbisdale, by the Kyle of Sutherland (April 27), Montrose's band was cut to pieces by Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan at the head of a body of cavalry; and a few days later Montrose himself was at the mercy of his enemies. He knew that he had taken his life in his hands, and that there could be but one fate in store for him. A year before the Marquis of Huntly had suffered death as

[1] At this period the term "treaty" meant the negotiations that led up to the final arrangement.—Gardiner, *Charles II and Scotland in* 1650 (Scot. Hist. Soc.) p. xx.

[2] Wigton Papers (Ban. Club), pp. 112 *et seq.*

[3] Balfour, III. 406, 7.

My Lord of Argyle I haue written Lately seuerall
letters to you but yet I would not lett Will Murray
depart without some marke of my particular Kyndnes.
I know he will tell you how much I depend upon your
advice and assistance in all things. but hoping to doe
it shortly myselfe I will now say noe more but that
I am

your very affectionate friend

Charles R

For the Marques of
Argile

Breda the 17/7 of May
1650

Charles II to the Marquis of Argyle, 1650.

a traitor to the Covenant, and Huntly's offences were not to be weighed in the balance with those of Montrose. As his doom as a traitor had already been pronounced, no form of trial was needed; and on May 21st he was hanged at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh—his body being afterwards dismembered, and his limbs publicly displayed in Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen. Such a close, marked as it was by his own soaring courage and the unholy exultation of his enemies, was perhaps needed to balance accounts in a career in which the adventurer had been so largely mingled with the hero.

On June 23rd, Charles appeared at the mouth of the Spey, and before he landed[1] signed the two Covenants, an act of supererogation which had not been demanded of him. 1650
Now that they had him in their midst, Argyle and his colleagues realized all the difficulties which his presence entailed. From three quarters they had to look for opposition which might endanger the existing government. There might be a royalist reaction in favour of Charles—a possibility which was eventually realized; in the ranks of the Covenanting party itself there were already ominous indications of that fatal division which was to prove its ruin; and, finally, England had already made it clear that it regarded the acceptance of Charles by the Scots as a declaration of war. To meet these various dangers the Estates now addressed themselves under the direction of Loudoun and Argyle. The leading Royalists, Scots and English, who had come in Charles's train, were ordered to quit the kingdom; and proclamations were issued for the levying of forces to meet the impending English invasion[2]. On the 5th of July the Estates rose, after appointing the usual Committee for the conduct of affairs till their next meeting. On this Committee, in conjunction with the standing Commission of the Kirk, devolved the heavy task of piloting the country through the desperate crisis that was near at hand.

On the 22nd of July Cromwell entered Scotland by the order of the English Commonwealth, assuring "his brethren in evil," says Baillie, "of a more easy conquest of that kingdom than all the English kings ever had[3]." The incurable divisions of the nation might well give him this confidence, yet he was to find his task less easy than he anticipated and to run the nearest risk of disaster that ever befell his arms. From the Tweed 1650

[1] Wodrow, *Select Biographies* (Life of John Livingstone), I. 181—3.
[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scotland*, VI. Part II. pp. 603 *et seq.*
[3] Baillie, III. 68.

to Edinburgh the country had been made a desert; and in a strong position between Leith and that town the experienced Leslie had drawn up an army of some 26,000 men. Unhappily, the skill of Leslie was rendered futile by the strangest policy ever pursued by the leaders of a people. To single-minded men for whom the Covenants were the express will of Heaven the late transaction with Charles had seemed a mockery of their most sacred hopes and prayers. For Charles, both as a man and as a king, they knew, the Covenants were a jest and a bugbear, which on the first opportunity he would toss to the winds. To the feelings of this class of men Argyle and his brother politicians were constrained to make concessions which took a peculiar form. If Charles gave no inward consent to the Covenants, he was at least to be made to know that his consent was no mere idle form. He was kept severely apart from the army which was to fight the battles of Heaven, and he was constrained to subscribe a fresh declaration (August 16) which filled the cup of his humiliation. Among other things in this extraordinary document he was made to say that he was "deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God because of his father's opposition to the work of God[1]." Truly he might exclaim that after this he could never look his mother in the face[2]. But this dealing with the chief malignant was only part of the hollow proceedings to which the Government was constrained by the impossible policy to which it had committed itself. If the cause of the Covenant were to be maintained with clean hands, its hosts must be purified from every taint of Malignancy. With this object, therefore, the Estates had appointed a special Commission, whose duty should be to weed out every person, officer, and private soldier who might bring the judgment of Achan on the host. So zealously did the Commission perform its task that by the end of August, and in face of the formidable enemy, from three to four thousand men were cashiered; and, in the words of a Royalist historian, the army was mainly left in charge of "ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the Spirit[3]."

On July 28 Cromwell reached Musselburgh by way of Mordington, Cockburnspath, and Dunbar[4]. His army consisted

[1] Peterkin, *Records*, p. 599.

[2] Burnet, *Hist. of My Own Time* (edit. 1823, Oxford), I. 97.

[3] Sir Edward Walker, *Historical Discourses* (Peterkin, p. 623).

[4] An able and thorough account of Cromwell's movements in Scotland is given by W. S. Douglas in his *Cromwell's Scotch Campaigns* (1898).

Quhare lufe gois on forle turnis the ee
I am expert and Wo is me thar fore
Bot for a luke/my lady is forlore
Thus chydand on. With lufe our burn̄ bent
A Wofull Wedo Wō hame Wart is he Went

Moralitas fabule sequitur

LO Worthy folk/Boece that senature
To Wryte this feynit fable tuke in cure
In his gay buke of consolacion̄.
For oure doctryne/and gude instructiō̄
Quhilk in the self suppose it fenyeit be
And hid vnder the cloke of poetie
yit maister tro Wit doctour Nicholas
Quhilk in his tyme a noble theolog Was
Applyis it to gude moralitee
Ry̆ full of frute/and seriolitee
Faire phebus is the god of sapience.
Caliopee his Wyf is eloquence.
Thir tWa maryit gat orpheus belyve
Quhilk callit is the part intellectiue

Specimen of Andrew Millar's printing.

of 16,000 men, of whom above 5000 were cavalry. Fleetwood and Lambert were with him, and he had also found a regiment for Monk, who was to play so great a part in Scottish affairs. Cromwell found the people through whom he marched as resolutely hostile as their forefathers had been to any English invader. Terrible stories had been circulated as to the treatment they had to expect from the dreaded Independent leader. He was "to put all men to the sword, and to thrust hot irons through the women's breasts." To assure the Scots of the beneficent intentions of its general the English Parliament had prepared an express Declaration which was sent across the Border before him. The army, also, on its own account made an express appeal to all "God's elect in Scotland" to join hands with their fellow-elect in England. To the Scottish clergy, who were mainly responsible for the stubborn hostility of their parishioners, Cromwell made a personal appeal in which he besought them to look at the situation in its true light. "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ," he wrote, "think it possible you may be mistaken." If the ministers could have admitted such a possibility, an Independent and republican was the last person in the world who was likely to convince them of error. What Cromwell must have expected from the beginning was gradually brought home to him; if the English Parliament was to work its will in Scotland it was the sword alone that must enforce it.

It was apparently Cromwell's intention to gain possession of Leith, whence with the support of his fleet he could continue further operations at his leisure. More than once this strategy had been successfully tried in the past, but Cromwell had to do with a general who understood the details of war better than himself. When he advanced from Musselburgh he found the enemy entrenched between Leith and Edinburgh in a position which secured the defence of both towns. After some desultory fighting, which led to no result, he fell back on Musselburgh, hotly pursued by the Scottish horse, who even succeeded in capturing Lambert, though he was immediately rescued. In Musselburgh Cromwell still found himself uncomfortable. He was still exposed to the attacks of the Scots, and, what embarrassed him still more, stores could not be landed from his ships on account of the stormy weather and the difficulties of the harbourage. On August 6 he retired to Dunbar, where he was relieved from both of these inconveniences.

It was evident that Leslie had no intention of seeking a pitched

battle. On August 11, therefore, Cromwell returned to Musselburgh, and two days later took up his position on the Braid Hills immediately to the south of Edinburgh. Having found it impossible to make his way to Leith, he had conceived another plan which, if successfully executed, might be turned to equally good account. This was to take possession of Queensferry on the Forth, where he would be in contact with his fleet, and where he would also be in a position to cut off Leslie's communications with the north. Abortive negotiations with the leaders of the Kirk held him inactive for two days, and on the 15th he had again to withdraw to Musselburgh to procure supplies. On the 18th he returned to his former position on the Braids, but to find that Leslie had anticipated his intended march on Queensferry. The main body of the Scots was now drawn up on the south side of Edinburgh and directly facing the English army, while a detachment with two guns had been stationed on Corstorphine Hill between two and three miles to the west of the capital. By making a detour to the south-west Cromwell might have come upon Queensferry, but he could not afford to quit the coast, where alone he could be secure of supplies. To reach Queensferry, therefore, he had to make for the Firth of Forth by passing between Corstorphine Hill and Edinburgh, where he would be exposed to the double fire of the Scots. Thus checkmated, Cromwell moved to Colinton, to which Leslie responded by marching his entire army to Corstorphine Hill. After storming the house of Redhall near Colinton Cromwell crossed the Water of Leith and pursued his march towards Queensferry. Again he was outmanœuvred by the skilful Leslie, who proceeding in front of him occupied the high ground behind Gogar between two and three miles to the west of Colinton and barred the further march of the English leader. On Corstorphine Hill the Scots had held a secure position, and at Gogar the ground was still more in their favour. Foiled in all his attempts to force on an engagement, Cromwell was likewise disappointed in his hope that their own difficulties would constrain the Scots to seek an accommodation. They were in desperate straits for provisions, and their leaders were divided alike as to their present and their future plans of action. But the hatred of the common enemy sufficed to hold them together, and the danger of his position and the plight of his troops left Cromwell no choice but to abandon his intention of reaching Queensferry. On the 28th of August he began his retreat

to Dunbar, where he arrived on the 1st of September. His month's experience had told heavily on the fine army with which he had crossed the Border. Of his 16,000 men, 5000 had been lost, mainly through disease induced by scarcity of food and exposure.

With his discouraged host Cromwell found himself in as strait a predicament at Dunbar as in any of his previous positions. In his retreat he had been closely followed by Leslie, a detachment of whose horse had even engaged him at Haddington. On the very day that the English leader entered Dunbar the pertinacious enemy settled on Doon Hill, a neighbouring eminence that overlooked the town. With a view to further contingencies, also, Leslie had despatched a force to the Pease Bridge, a gorge beyond Cockburnspath which commanded the line of march to Berwick. To all appearance the unconquered Cromwell was at last caught in a trap from which any attempt to extricate himself must end in disaster. If he continued his march southwards he would have to fight at a disadvantage to which even his veterans must succumb. An attempt to escape by sea would be attended by even greater risks. The ships at his command would not afford accommodation for all his troops, and embarkation in the face of a watchful enemy could not have been effected without heavy loss. Cromwell fully realized the strait in which he found himself. "We are upon an engagement very difficult," he wrote, "……our lying here daily consumeth our men"; but, he characteristically adds, "we have much hope in the Lord, of Whose mercy we have had large experience."

On the ground where Leslie had encamped he was secure from attack. The steep hill slope on which he lay formed of itself a strong position, and he had a further defence in the deep ravine of the Brock Burn which runs between the base of the Doon Hill and the town of Dunbar. But the Scots had their own difficulties as well as the enemy. The weather still continued cold and wet, and in their exposed position they had to bear the full brunt of it. Lack of provisions, also, rendered it impossible for them to wait on Cromwell's movements as they had hitherto done. On the second day of their encampment a council of war decided that the attempt should be made to bring matters to an issue. There is good reason to believe that this decision was taken against the judgment of Leslie and his uncle, the veteran Leven, who was also in the camp. However this may be, to the ecstatic delight of Cromwell the Scots on the night of Monday, the 2nd of September

were seen to descend from the hill and to take up a position which left them open to the attack of a resolute enemy[1]. They were now on comparatively even ground; and, though the Brock Burn still separated them from the English, its banks at that point were comparatively level and offered no great impediment either to foot or horse. As the Scots now lay they had the Brock Burn on their left, their foot forming their centre, and the bulk of their cavalry

their right wing. They had placed themselves in a position where defeat must involve irretrievable ruin. The Brock Burn cut off retreat to the west, and the steep hill behind them stood in the way of easy escape to the south. It was at the sight of this spectacle that Cromwell uttered the fervent ejaculation which tradition has attributed to him, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands."

[1] In this account of the Battle of Dunbar I have followed Mr C. H. Firth. According to the received account, as it is found in Carlyle and Mr Gardiner, the main battle took place when Cromwell attempted to cross the Brock Burn. According to Mr Firth this was only a preliminary skirmish, and the chief fighting took place after Cromwell had crossed the Burn and when the two armies were face to face on the same side of it.—Mr Firth's paper will be found in the *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. XIV.

Montrose Monument, St Giles', Edinburgh.

On Tuesday morning shortly before sunrise the English began the attack by an attempt to cross the stream where it approaches Broxmouth House. Under a plashing rain the Scots had spent an anxious and miserable night, having twice been disturbed by a false alarm that the enemy was upon them. Towards daybreak the rain ceased, and as the English came on the two opposing hosts were able to mark each other's movements. A detachment of English horse, supported by two regiments of foot, succeeded after a brief struggle in securing the passage of the Burn, and Cromwell was thus enabled to transport his entire force and place it in front of the Scots, wedged between the hill and the Burn. After a month's manœuvring in sight of each other the two armies at length stood face to face. The chances of the battle that was now inevitable were decidedly against the Scots. In his cramped position Leslie had no scope to make such dispositions as his skill and experience might have suggested. His army was nearly double that of the enemy, but by successive "purgings," the last of which had been effected the very night before the battle[1], it had been drained of much of its best blood. Drenched and hungry, moreover, the Scots were not in the temper of men who win battles. Yet, under these disadvantages certain regiments made a stand that might have given a different turn to the day had all fought like them. Lambert attacking the Scottish horse was beaten back, and Monk had the same experience with the Scottish infantry. It was only when Cromwell himself came up at the head of three regiments of foot and one of cavalry that the line of the Scots was broken. Two regiments of their foot "fought it out manfully," and "were all killed as they stood." But the majority did not behave so heroically; many of them surrendered, and still more fled, casting away their weapons before they had well begun to use them. It was as the sun broke on the hopeless rout that Cromwell took up the Psalmist's pious exclamation, "Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered." His veterans, remembering the tedium of the last month, were nothing loth to execute the injunction. It was in their headlong race from the field that the Scots received their deadliest punishment. By the close of the day between three and four thousand of them had fallen, and about ten thousand were prisoners[2]. Of these last half were sent to their homes in such a condition of body that they were never likely to fight again. The

[1] Nicoll's *Diary* (Ban. Club), p. 28.

[2] Cromwell stated that he lost only twenty men.

other half were conveyed to Durham and Newcastle, thence to be shipped to New England. Half-starved by the way, while penned in a garden at Morpeth, they ravenously devoured cabbages to appease their hunger, with the result that they died by scores. During the voyage to New England scurvy wrought further havoc among the miserable band, and it was but a remnant that reached the Puritan settlement.

The disaster at Dunbar was the ruin of the Argyle Government, and the ruin, also, of that national party which had brought forth the Covenants of 1638 and 1643. Cromwell's victory gave him the immediate possession of Edinburgh and Leith and a permanent footing in the country. Often in the past the stubborn resolution of the Scots had prevailed against their old enemy in even greater extremities; but, as the nation now stood, successful resistance was impossible. By the overthrow at Dunbar that party among the ministers and the people at large who had denounced the acceptance of a malignant king grew at once in vehemence and numbers. As leaders they had Johnston of Warriston, the most rigid of lay Covenanters, and two fiery ministers, James Guthrie of Stirling and Patrick Gillespie of Glasgow. In a document entitled "Causes of a solemn publick humiliation upon the defeat of the army," they enumerated under thirteen heads the various national offences, adjuring the people to lay to heart their late chastening[1]. Still more notable, as opening a new chapter in Scottish ecclesiastical history, was the "Remonstrance" presented (October 30) to the Committee of Estates, then sitting at Perth. After an unflinching arraignment of the whole policy of the Government, the "Remonstrants" or "Protesters," as they were thenceforward to be called, rejected Charles as their king till he had given satisfactory evidence "of the reality of his profession[2]." Nor was this manifesto a mere idle threat. The Remonstrants had behind them all the south-western shires, and an armed force besides under the command of Colonel Gilbert Ker and that Colonel Strachan who had made such speedy work of Montrose.

1650 Between the Remonstrants, on the one side, and the party of the king, on the other, Argyle thus found himself in a dilemma with which his character and his methods were but ill-fitted to cope. By a further purging of the king's household (Sept. 27) the Committee of Estates had sought to conciliate the extremists, but the Remonstrance had been the answer to the

[1] Peterkin, *Records*, pp. 600—1. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 604—8.

Ruins of Dunbar Castle.

concession. The Remonstrants being thus irreconcilable and thus formidable, there was but one course open to Argyle and his supporters—to identify themselves with the king's party and make common head against Cromwell and Remonstrants alike. To secure the firm alliance of Argyle, Charles had made sufficiently alluring offers; he had promised to make him a duke and a Knight of the Garter, and had even held out the inducement that he would make one of Argyle's daughters his queen. Support was lent to these advances by the fact that in the Highlands there was a considerable body of Royalists under the command of Major Middleton, who were ready at the fitting moment to strike for their king. A singular escapade on the part of Charles was the immediate cause of Argyle's decisively breaking with the Remonstrants and identifying himself with the Royalist party. Disgusted with the renewed purging of his household, Charles rode off from Perth on the afternoon of the 4th of October with the intention of joining his friends. A ride of forty-two miles found him at night-fall "in a nasty room, on an old bolster above a mat of sedges and rushes, overwearied and very fearful[1]." The affair had, in fact, been misarranged; and Charles on the third day was induced to reappear in Perth, where the Committee of Estates was now sitting. The "Start," as this adventure was quaintly called, precipitated the unhallowed union between Malignant and Covenanter. On November 4th an arrangement was made at Strathbogie with the Royalists of the north; and on the 25th the Committee of Estates passed a resolution condemning the Remonstrance—a resolution[2] which received the approval of the Committee of the Kirk. The Estates, which met on the 26th, completed the strange amalgamation. The Act of Classes was practically abolished, the door was thrown wide open to every type of Malignant, and it was resolved that Charles should receive his crown on the 1st of January, 1651.

On the 1st of January, 1651, Charles was duly crowned at Scone[3], and thus, by the strangest irony of destiny, a people which had embraced Calvinism as its national religion and regarded John Knox as its national hero received as its king a born cynic, sceptic, and voluptuary, to whom duty and

1651

[1] Balfour, IV. 112—5.

[2] Hence the name "Resolutioners," the party opposed to the "Protesters" or "Remonstrants."

[3] There was no anointing, but Charles had once more to subscribe the Covenants.

religion were inconceivable ideas, and whose sole aim was to make life a pleasant promenade, with as little detriment to the happiness of others as was consistent with his own. Nor, as the events of the ensuing months proved, was Charles to be any longer a mere king of straw. It was Argyle who had placed the crown on the king's head; but by the relaxation of the Act of Classes Charles received such an accession of Royalist supporters that the power of Argyle was in large measure gone. A Parliament which sat in May formally rescinded the Act of Classes, and ordered the levy of an army of which David Leslie was to be commander-in-chief, and the Royalist Middleton his master of horse.

The only open enemy whom Charles had to encounter was Cromwell, for on December 1st of the preceding year the forces of the Remonstrants under Colonel Ker had been crushed at Hamilton by Major-General Lambert. In the course of the past year, however, Cromwell had materially strengthened his position, and was now master of the whole country to the south of the Forth. In June he began operations against Leslie, who had taken up his position near Stirling, but again that wary leader foiled all his attempts to force on an engagement. At length, by the end of July, Cromwell directly brought on the issue which was to decide the fate of the two kingdoms. A force despatched by him to Fife routed a body of Scots at Inverkeithing, and he himself crossing to Burntisland made his way to Perth. The enemy being now behind them, Charles and his advisers took a desperate resolution, which yet may have been the most prudent in the circumstances. On the 31st of July the Scottish army began its march southwards with the hope, forlorn, as it proved, that in England the Royalists would flock to the side of their king. Cromwell had anticipated the movement and swiftly made his arrangements to meet it. Monk was left to take care of Scotland; Lambert was despatched on the track of the enemy; and he himself followed with the remainder of his army. Exactly one year from the day of Dunbar Drove (September 3rd), Cromwell finished the work of which that day had been the beginning. His overwhelming victory at Worcester, his "crowning mercy," laid Scotland at his feet, and shortened the reign of Charles by other nine years.

1651

CHAPTER V.

SCOTLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE (1651—1660).

THE losses which Scotland had sustained at Worcester would effectually have prevented her from interfering in the affairs of England for many years to come; but, hostile as all her parties were towards the victors, the chiefs of the Commonwealth deemed it politic to take measures against every possible contingency. They determined that by force or brotherly kindness Scotland should become an integral part of the Commonwealth of England. At no period of her history had the country presented an easier prey to conquest. Her two armies had been annihilated at Dunbar and Worcester, and the three parties—Royalists, Resolutioners, and Protesters—into which her people was divided, were more disposed to fly at each other's throats than to make common cause against the invader. Even before the news of Worcester reached him, Monk, whom Cromwell had left behind him in Scotland, had made considerable progress with the work of subjugation. On August 14 he had taken Stirling, where he found the Chair of State, the royal robes and public records, all of which symbols of independence, he, like Edward I, despatched at once to London. A fortnight later, while he was engaged in storming Dundee, a detachment of his cavalry swooped on the Committee of Estates, then sitting at Alyth in Angus, and thus at one stroke deprived the country of its nominal government. On September 1st Dundee was captured after a massacre of the citizens which recalls the exploit of Edward I at Berwick-on-Tweed. By the close of the year, St Andrews, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Inverness had opened their gates, and in February, 1652, even the far Orkneys were in possession of the conqueror. Monk being forced to leave the country on account of ill-health, Major-General Richard Deane was charged with the completion of his task. By the month of May the only stronghold that held out for Charles was Dunnottar

1651—1652

Castle on the coast of Kincardine. Here for safety had been conveyed the last symbols of independence—the Regalia of Scotland, consisting of crown, sceptre, and sword of State. On the 25th Dunnottar also surrendered, though by the courage and ingenuity of two women the precious symbols were saved. Only one prominent personage maintained a show of independence in the country—the Marquis of Argyle; but the invasion of his territory by Colonel Lilburne, an officer of Deane's, brought him also to terms. By an agreement signed between him and Deane on August 19 he became at least a nominal supporter of the English supremacy[1].

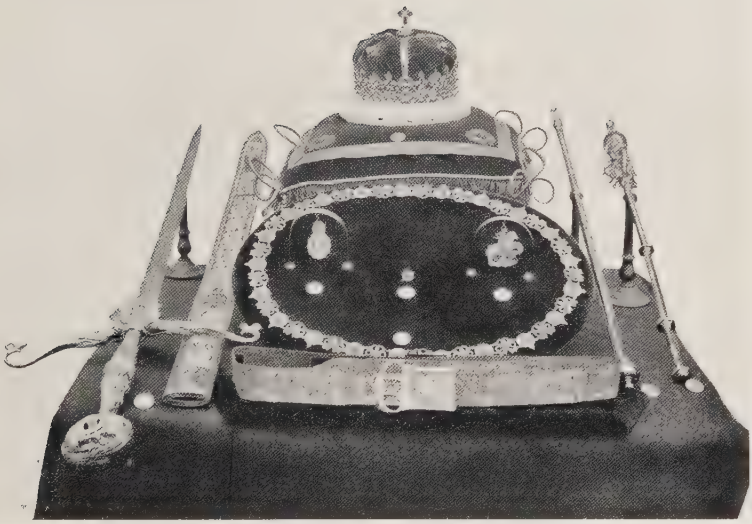
1651

Simultaneously with the work of conquest, measures were being taken for the government of the country[2]. In the spring of 1651 the English Council of State appointed four Commissioners to proceed to Scotland to administer that part of the country which had been secured by Cromwell after the battle of Dunbar. The disastrous defeat of the Scots at Worcester necessitated a more comprehensive arrangement. As the result of that defeat all Scotland came under the power of the English Parliament. Any arrangement that might be made, therefore, must be such as would be adequate to the needs of the whole nation.

In October a new body of Commissioners, eight in number, was entrusted with the task of carrying out the wishes of the Parliament with regard to the conquered country. Among the eight were Monk, Lambert, Deane, Sir Harry Vane, and the Chief Justice, Oliver St John. After Worcester the first idea of the Parliament was to convert Scotland into a province of England, but in a formal Declaration, in which the scope of the Commission was defined, it announced a more generous policy. The first place in the Declaration was given to religion. It was to be the prime task of the Commissioners to see that the Gospel was preached, and that liberty of worship should be secured to the whole people. As to the form of government that was to be set up, it was to be understood that Scotland and England were to be made into one Commonwealth with all convenient speed. In consideration of the "vast expenses and damages" which the Commonwealth of England had incurred through the action of Scotland, the Commissioners

[1] Firth, *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), pp. xx—xxiii.

[2] The following account of the Cromwellian union is mainly based on *The Cromwellian Union*, edited by Professor Sanford Terry for the Scottish History Society (1902).



Scottish Regalia.

were empowered to exact an adequate compensation. The estates of those who had taken part in the Duke of Hamilton's expedition into England, or who had in any way assisted Charles II, were to be confiscated—an exception being made in favour of such as had not borne arms against the Commonwealth. In the case of the nation at large, all were to enjoy the privileges of English subjects who would accept the government about to be imposed on them. Finally a special inducement was offered to all vassals who would give their submission to the new authority. If they would accept the protection of the Commonwealth they should be allowed to retain their lands on conditions that would enable them "to live with a more comfortable subsistence than formerly." Such were the general conditions on which the Commonwealth proposed to settle the government of the country that was now at their feet.

On January 15th, 1652, the Commissioners took up their quarters at Dalkeith and at once proceeded to carry out their private instructions. Their first step was to issue a proclamation annulling the authority of Charles, and to order the destruction of all the insignia of royalty in the public places in Edinburgh. The "Declaration" of the English Parliament was next laid before the country. It was coupled with an order that revealed the intentions of those who had drafted it. The burghs and shires were charged to elect representatives with powers to signify their assent to a union between the two countries. Left to its own free will, the country would assuredly have rejected the overtures of the Commonwealth with indignation. But, as things now stood, it was the least evil alternative to accept conditions which could not make worse the existing situation. In January an assessment was imposed on every county for the maintenance of the English soldiery, and the tax was to be levied so long as resistance should continue. In these circumstances it was highly desirable that a firm and settled government should be established which would relieve the nation from an intolerable burden. It was doubtless in this hope that the constituencies responded to the charge to send representatives who might have the opportunity of asserting their grievances as well as of stating their opinion regarding the "tender" of union. On the appearance of the Deputies in the beginning of February, three conditions were laid before them. They must accept the tender of union; they must give in their submission to the Commonwealth; and they

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must pledge themselves to assist in giving effect to its scheme for amalgamating the two countries. The unanimity with which the conditions were accepted was so far encouraging to the promoters of union. Forty-four burghs out of fifty-eight, and twenty-eight shires expressed their assent to the Commonwealth's proposal.

1652—1653

These preliminaries settled, two of the English Commissioners, Vane and Fenwick, carried their report to the Parliament in London. A new "Declaration" was the result. On April 21 the Scottish burghs and shires were called upon to re-elect representatives who should choose twenty-one Deputies to discuss the terms of the proposed union in London. Out of eighty-five constituencies sixty sent representatives, who duly chose the twenty Deputies. The Deputies arrived in London in the first week of October, and conferences at once began regarding the Bill for union which had already made some progress through the House. It was the conviction of the statesmen of the Commonwealth that in offering union at all they were conferring an undeserved favour on an insignificant and ungrateful nation. In summoning Deputies from Scotland, therefore, they had no intention of allowing them a determining voice on the conditions of union which they were prepared to offer. The Deputies had in fact been summoned simply to supply information which might be necessary in constructing the Act. The most important question connected with the proposed union of the Scottish and English Parliaments was the relative representation of the two countries. The Deputies, when asked for their opinion, suggested that Scotland should be assigned the same number of representatives as it sent to its own Parliament. In support of this demand they pointed out the great service that Scotland had done to the English Parliament in its conflict with Charles I. But for that service, they justly urged, victory must have gone to the king in the late civil war. Their demand was rejected as preposterous, and they were requested to state what representatives they were prepared to accept. Thus browbeaten the Deputies abated their demands. England and Wales, they said, sent four hundred members to the English Parliament, and as Scotland sent one hundred and twenty to hers, they could not ask less than a representation of sixty in the united Parliament. This demand was likewise considered exorbitant: in England, they were told, representation was based on population and taxable values, and on these principles Scotland could not be

allowed more than thirty members. It was now the beginning of April, 1653, and more than six months had elapsed since the Scottish Deputies had come to London on their futile errand. Throughout the whole period there had been increasing friction between Cromwell and the Long Parliament, and on April 20 occurred the famous scene of its dissolution. Meanwhile, therefore, the business of the union had to wait till the new Parliament could take up the work of its predecessor.

While the Long Parliament had been considering the scheme of union, it had taken efficient measures for the government of the conquered country. For the maintenance of public order the English garrison was the sufficient instrument, but the administration of justice was the crying need of the people. Since Cromwell's invasion in July, 1650, the Privy Council and the Court of Session had ceased to discharge their judicial functions[1]. The manner in which the government of the Commonwealth remedied this evil is its chief glory in its dealings with Scotland. Seven Commissioners, four English and three Scots, were charged with the double function of administering justice and of visiting the universities. The efficiency and impartiality of these judges was a new experience in a country where the delay and miscarriage of justice had come to be accepted as inherent in the nature of things; and it was a Scottish judge of the following century who denied them any credit for virtue on the ground that they were "kinless loons." By these seven Commissioners, supported by an armed force of less than 10,000 men, the government of the country was administered till July, 1655.

The Commonwealth had thus accomplished what had baffled two of the most powerful of English kings—Edward I and Henry VIII. Scotland was at length under English domination—subjugated, pacified, and submissive. Weary of the unrest of recent years, the Scottish Commons showed little or no restiveness under the yoke of their ancient enemies. This acquiescence was doubtless partly due to the fact that the chiefs of the nobility were either in exile or in the hands of the English, and that the clergy, their other leaders in the past, were at furious strife among themselves. Since the battle of Worcester, Resolutioners and Protesters, in spite of the disappearance of the king, who had been the original cause of their quarrel, had been carrying on their battles with increasing bitterness and intolerance—each claiming

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[1] Nicoll's *Diary*.

to be the true inheritors of the two historic Covenants. From a Church so divided the invaders had little to fear, but to prevent all possibility of mischief they took the most effectual means in their power: on July 20th, 1653, they broke up a General Assembly which had met in Edinburgh, and forbade all such assemblies in future—a proceeding, says a contemporary Presbyterian historian, in which "they did no bad office[1]."

1653 On the meeting of Barebones' Parliament in July, 1653, the consideration of the union was again resumed. It was the first Parliament in which English, Scotch, and Irish members sat side by side. But if it was an unsatisfactory body as representative of England, it was ludicrous so far as it concerned Scotland. Out of its one hundred and forty members five only were Scotch, and these were simply the nominees of Cromwell and his supporters. In the midst of its bickerings with its chief, however, it found time to carry the business of the union one step further. On October 4 there was laid before the House, "An Act of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Uniting and Incorporating of Scotland into one free State and Commonwealth with England." A week later the Act was read a second time, but its further progress was summarily cut short. On December 12, Barebones' Parliament came to an end, and on the 16th Cromwell was declared Lord Protector.

1654 No one had been more set upon union than Cromwell, and it was to be the work of his Protectorate to carry it into effect. In the "Instrument of Government," by which he had been appointed Protector, definite arrangements were made for the representation of Scotland in his first Parliament. It was to be represented by thirty members, the distribution of whose seats was to be determined by the Protector and a majority of his Council. In view of the approaching Parliament the Council of State now addressed itself to the task of finally settling the terms on which England and Scotland were to be made one State. On April 12, 1654, the Council produced the famous "Ordinance of Union" in which it defined the relations which were thenceforth to hold between the two countries. Scotland, the ordinance declared, was to make one Commonwealth with England, and was to be represented in the common Parliament by thirty members. The Scottish arms were to be quartered with those of the English

[1] Kirkton, *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland* (edited by C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe), p. 54.

Commonwealth, and the seals of all public bodies were to be engraved accordingly.

Between the passing of the Ordinance of Union and the meeting of the Union Parliament important events took place in Scotland. Since the summer of 1652 the Royalists had been endeavouring to effect a rising in favour of Charles. In the Lowlands this party could reckon on no very wide and ardent support, but in the Highlands the standard could always be raised for the king. The war of the Commonwealth with Holland in 1653 created a favourable opportunity for a rising, and throughout that year there were gatherings in the Western Highlands which gradually grew more formidable. The Earl of Glencairn, supported by Lord Kenmure, was the principal leader, and he was joined by Lord Lorne in spite of the denunciation of his father, the Marquis of Argyle. While the bands in the Highlands raided the neighbouring Lowlands, mounted men, known as "moss-troopers[1]," gave serious annoyance to the Government in almost every part of the country. But the efforts of the Royalist leaders were crippled by their own dissensions, and it was not till the arrival of Middleton (February, 1654) with a commander-in-chief's commission from Charles, that decisive and vigorous action became possible. Meanwhile the Government had realized the extent of its danger. In April Colonel Lilburne, who had succeeded Deane in the command of the English forces, was displaced by Monk, who was charged with the task of repeating the work he had so effectually accomplished three years before.

The first act of Monk was to announce the elevation of Cromwell to the Protectorate of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and to declare that thenceforward there was to be one Parliament for the three countries in which Scotland was to be represented by thirty members. Alluring promises followed regarding the happy conditions that were to attend the new order. There was to be free trade between the two countries; taxation was to be strictly proportional to the comparative resources of Scotland; heritable jurisdictions were to be abolished and baron courts were to be set up; and, as a proof of the benevolent intentions of the new Government, free grace and pardon were offered to the whole people except in the case of the most heinous offenders. Monk then turned to the main business on which he had come, and within little more than three months he had accomplished it. Cutting off

[1] They were also known as "Tories."

Middleton's communications with the Lowlands, he sought him in the fastnesses of the Highlands, and by unsparing destruction of every means of sustenance strove to force him either to fight or disperse his following. One brief encounter brought the war to an end. At Dalnaspidal, at the head of Loch Garry, Middleton was caught by Colonel Morgan, one of Monk's most capable officers, and received so severe a check that he could not again make head against the forces of the Government. Thenceforward, till the close of the second Protectorate, no serious revolt disturbed the peace of the country. By means of important forts erected at Leith, Perth, Inverness, Inverlochy, and Ayr, and over twenty smaller ones in different parts of the country, by an extensive system of spies and by a strict police, any attempt at a rising could be suppressed with a swiftness and precision which left little chance of a successful issue.

1654 Before the defeat of Dalnaspidal the machinery for the election of Scottish members for the common Parliament had already been set in motion. So little interest was taken in the election that nine out of the thirty constituencies which had received the privilege of representation failed to return a member. Moreover, of the twenty-one members elected a large number were civil or military officials in the service of the Commonwealth. The Parliament met on September 3, but it found more pressing business to occupy it than the question of Union; and it was not till the 22nd of December that a Bill was introduced confirming the ordinance of the Council of State. Within less than a month the Parliament was dissolved, and thus for the third time the Act of Union had failed to secure the sanction of the State.

1655—1656 The second Protectorate Parliament did not meet till September, 1656, but in the interval a new arrangement was made for the government of Scotland, which remained in force till the close of the Protectorate. In place of the eight Commissioners who had hitherto directed affairs a Council of State was appointed to sit in Edinburgh. It was to consist of eight members (of whom two were Scots) with a President and a chief clerk, and its function was to attend exclusively to affairs of State. Seven Commissioners (of whom three were Scots) were likewise appointed to superintend the administration of justice. The duties of the Council were to be sufficiently onerous. They were not merely to do their best to promote good government and to conserve the union: they were to see that the Gospel was freely preached, that

schools and universities were put on a satisfactory basis, that disaffected magistrates were removed from their offices, that justice was righteously administered, and that trade was encouraged and the revenue carefully fostered. The Council arrived in Edinburgh in September, 1655. By its first actions it sought to conciliate the goodwill of the country. Since 1652 the burghs had been practically debarred from electing their own magistrates, but the privilege was now restored on the condition that the persons elected should swear allegiance to the Protector. Hitherto, also, persons who prayed publicly for Charles had been subjected to pains and penalties. The prohibition was now tentatively removed, and apparently with the result that except by ingenious circumlocution the exiled king was left unprayed for in public.

The second Protectorate Parliament met in September, 1656. On this occasion Scotland sent its full complement of thirty members, but again the majority were English officials or Scotsmen bound by ties of interest to the Protector. In the new Parliament the question of the union received more attention than in any of its predecessors; and on April 28, 1657, the Ordinance of April, 1654, was converted into an Act by the sanction of the House. It was five years since the Long Parliament had formulated its "Declaration concerning the Settlement of Scotland," and four Parliaments in succession had dealt with the question. 1656—1657

The Parliament that passed the Act of Union was dissolved in February, 1658; and Cromwell died in the following September. In the Parliament summoned by his son Richard Scotland was again represented, but on this occasion by only twenty-one members instead of its prescribed thirty[1]. If Scotland showed itself indifferent to the union, the treatment which its representatives received in London was not fitted to increase their enthusiasm for it. The House had scarcely sat before the question was raised whether the Scottish members had any right to be there. The objection raised was not on the ground of the illegality of the union but on the plea that they were the nominees of the Government. The debate continued for several days, and lively speeches were made by both parties in the House. "The Scottish members," said one speaker, are "a wooden leg tied to a natural body." When the vote was at length taken, the 1658

[1] In the House of Peers, Scotland was represented by the Earl of Cassillis, Sir William Lockart of Lee, and Warriston.

Government carried the day; by two hundred and eleven to one hundred and twenty it was decided that Scotland was legally represented by its existing members. One month later the last Protectorate Parliament was dissolved, and the return of the Long Parliament reopened the whole question of the union.

The attention of the resuscitated Parliament was called to the question by a special petition from certain of the Scottish Deputies. It was under the auspices of the Long Parliament that the policy of union had been organised, and it was quite prepared to resume that policy at the point where it had left off. The petition of the Scottish Deputies was remitted to the Council of State, which on July 27, 1659, produced a "Bill of Union of Scotland with England." It was twice read in the House in the course of one week, but the passing of the Bill was delayed by a difficulty which had all along been the chief hindrance to effectual union. In the arrangements hitherto made for uniting the two countries it had been expressly provided that there should be liberty of conscience and freedom of worship. To Presbyterians of every shade of opinion such toleration was a mere device of Satan for the destruction of true religion. There could be but one true creed and one divinely-sanctioned Church polity, and to allow other creeds and other polities was to open the flood-gates to infidelity and antinomianism. From the first, therefore, the Presbyterians had been hostile to the union mainly because it was identified with the detested principle of toleration. But, as the complaints of the Presbyterians themselves testify, there were numerous sectaries in the country who had profited by the immunity from persecution which the union had brought to them. It was now the dread of these sectaries that the clamours of the Presbyterians might induce the Long Parliament to withhold the toleration in its impending Act of Union. The delay occasioned by this difficulty was fatal to the Bill. On October 13, 1659, the Long Parliament was dissolved, and the Bill never reached its third reading.

During nine years the Commonwealth and the Protectorate had successively attempted to effect that union between the two countries which for more than a century far-seeing men had declared to be in the best interests of both. The circumstances in which the attempt had been made were singularly unfavourable to its successful consummation. A subjugated country was not likely to respond to the most generous dictates of its conqueror, and the conditions of union proffered by Commonwealth and

Protectorate were not generous. Moreover, the state of men's minds in both countries was not such as to dispose them to look to those wider national interests, the consideration of which eventually produced the union of 1707. The dominating ideas in the minds of the leaders of both nations were such as bore on Church and religion; and, while these ideas held the first place, a union between Scotland and England was impossible. It was through the gradual growth of the secular spirit, evolved from irreconcilable contradictions, that the two nations came to realize that their destinies lay together. Nevertheless, abortive as were the Cromwellian attempts at union, they were at least of good augury for the future, and they were not without determining influence on the day when the two nations finally joined hands and accepted common burdens.

The fall of the Long Parliament involved a revolution in Scotland. On November 15 representatives from the burghs and shires assembled in Edinburgh at the summons of Monk; and it was significant of the change that was coming that one of their two presidents was that Earl of Glencairn whose rising in favour of Charles it had been Monk's task to suppress. The representatives were told by Monk that he was about to march into England with the intention of restoring the liberties of the three nations, and that it would be their duty to maintain public order during his absence. On December 13 the Commissioners of the Shires had a last meeting with him at Berwick, when they besought him to make provision for the preservation of peace till a settled Government should be established in the country, now without a head. It is noteworthy that even now there were many in Scotland who were still desirous of a union, though on conditions more favourable to the poorer nation. In February, 1660, the Conventions of the Shires and Burghs met in Edinburgh and appointed a joint commission to represent them in their future dealings with England. In a petition sent to Monk by the Committee they suggested the desirability of union, but a union on terms which would bring equal advantages and privileges to both countries. The course taken by Monk, however, was to lead to far other issues than those contemplated by the petitioners. The restoration of Charles not only cut off all prospects of immediate union, but deprived Scotland of those privileges of trade of which it had complained as insignificant, but which it was so bitterly to regret in the years that were coming. Scotland was now to have Parliaments of its

own, but Parliaments which met only to register the decrees of its restored king. With what feelings the English domination had been regarded by the body of the people it would be hard to say. One fact, however, is certain—never under any of her kings had peace and order and justice been so successfully maintained in Scotland as under Cromwell's Protectorate. The saying of one of his officials may be a slight exaggeration, yet it could not have been far from the truth. "A man may ride over all Scotland with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years." The well-known words of Burnet may also go beyond the mark, yet they are in a large degree borne out by actual facts. "There was good justice done," he says, "and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity[1]." What is singular is that the spiritual condition of the country gave profound satisfaction to the straitest of Scottish Presbyterians. All through these years Protester and Resolutioner never ceased from their futile strife, and even carried their mutual recriminations to Cromwell in London; yet of this period a contemporary Presbyterian historian could write as follows: "I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of triple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in their time[2]."

From this pleasant picture of material and spiritual prosperity one serious abatement has to be made. In spite of the promises of the Protectorate Government, the exactions requisite to support it were specially distasteful to a people who had never paid taxes without grudging even to the most popular of their native princes. Nevertheless, in the days that were coming the Scottish people with few exceptions were to have ample cause to look back with regret to the rule of Cromwell's military saints. When, on the 1st of January, 1660, Monk crossed the Border to accomplish the restoration of the House of Stewart, it was the opening of the most pitiful chapter of the national history.

[1] Burnet, *Hist. of My Own Time*, I. 104—5. [2] Kirkton, pp. 54—5.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES II (1660—1685).

I. Administration of Middleton—The Re-establishment of Episcopacy.

At the restoration of Charles II in 1660 exactly a hundred years had elapsed since Protestantism had displaced Roman Catholicism as the national religion of Scotland. During that period the country had been ruled by three sovereigns, all of whom had placed themselves in direct opposition to the type of doctrine and Church government which had the approval of the most energetic and most intelligent part of the nation; and to this opposition it was mainly due that two of these sovereigns had lost their thrones and their lives. During the same period there had been radical changes in Church and State, and there had been more than one civil war and more than one revolution. The last development in this eventful history had been the loss of national independence, the disappearance of the native line of princes, and the domination of a foreign power. Of these momentous results there had been one efficient cause: people and prince respectively held convictions regarding their mutual relations which rendered a common understanding impossible. On the one hand, the ruler held that he had a divine right to impose his will on the subject; on the other, the most strenuous section of the people held as immoveably that there was but one religious creed and polity which had the sanction of Heaven, and which, therefore, they had the indefeasible right to impose both on their rulers and the whole of the nation. Before a stable Government was possible, therefore, it was in the nature of things that one party or the other must give way, or that there should be such a compromise on both sides as to afford a common ground of harmonious action. Had the contentions of a hundred years brought home this conviction to the Scottish people and to the king who was now about to resume the throne of his fathers? The

course of the new reign was to prove that neither had yet learned the lesson, and that one more stage of national development was necessary before the long travail should end.

1660 According to the testimony of all contemporary historians, the great majority of the Scottish nation sincerely rejoiced in the restoration of Charles II. The nobles and gentry had certainly excellent reason to be gratified at his return. During the English domination they had been effaced, proscribed, and heavily burdened; and they testified their joy and confidence by flocking to the king's feet to proclaim their privations and sue for his favours. Of the two sections which divided the Church—the Resolutioners and the Protesters—the former, who composed the majority, hoped the best of a king who had sworn to both Covenants, while the latter made no pretence of looking for redemption from one whom they had distrusted from the first. For the mass of the people, who cared little for the Covenants or divine right, the Restoration, with its promise of happier days for the natural man, appears to have been an unmingled joy.

The first act of Charles in his government of Scotland showed that he meant to follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather: he nominated his Privy Council before calling a meeting of Parliament, which had a constitutional claim to be heard in the election of the great officers of State. Some of the councillors chosen had once been on the side of the Covenant, but none were admitted who had not given proof of their attachment to the Crown. The Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the standard for Charles during the Protectorate, was appointed to the Chancellorship. The Presidency was given to the Earl of Rothes, whose father had been one of the leaders of the revolt against Charles I, but who himself, as we shall see, was of another mould and held very different opinions. Following the precedent set by James VI, Charles arranged that a section of the Council should sit in London in immediate communication with himself, and that a part of this section should consist of Englishmen, of whom the most notable chosen was Edward Hyde, soon to be Earl of Clarendon. Specially to be remarked among the councillors, however, was the Earl of Lauderdale, who had been a champion of the Covenant and one of its lay representatives in the Westminster Assembly, but had done ample atonement by his nine years' imprisonment since his capture at Worcester. The post that Lauderdale chose for himself was that of Secretary to the Council, the importance of which had

been shown in the case of the Earl of Stirling during the reign of Charles I. The advantage the post brought to its holder was that it at all times gave him the king's ear. How Lauderdale used the advantage, the next seven years were to show.

Charles's choice of his Privy Councillors showed that he meant to make no compromise with the Covenanters; and a decisive action that followed proved this still more plainly. On July 8, the Marquis of Argyle, who had gone to London to seek an interview with the king, was arrested in the presence-chamber and committed to the Tower. A few days later an order went down to Scotland for the apprehension of Johnston of Warriston, who postponed his fate for three years by escaping to France. 1660

At the close of July there was as yet no ostensible Government in Scotland. The new Privy Council was still with the king, and a meeting of the Scottish Parliament had not even been summoned. As a substitute for these two bodies a curious arrangement was made. That unfortunate Committee of Estates, which Monk had so adroitly kidnapped at Alyth in 1651[1], was ordered to meet in Edinburgh and to transact such business as demanded immediate attention. The Committee sat on the 23rd of August with Glencairn as president, and speedily found work to its hands. On the very day on which they themselves met, and in a house almost next door to their own place of meeting, a small body of Protesters had assembled with the object of drafting a document for the perusal of Charles. The Committee well knew that nothing that might come from Protesters would be acceptable to Charles, and they acted promptly. They at once gave orders that the whole party should be seized and consigned to the castle. One only escaped, and among the prisoners was Mr James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, the most ardent of the Protesters and the most honest though most impracticable of men. The next day the Committee issued the first of the endless proclamations that were to follow against "all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles...without his Majesty's special authority." These proceedings were disquieting to Resolutioners and Protesters alike, but the former were reassured by a letter from his Majesty which reached the Presbytery of Edinburgh on September 3rd. In this letter occurred an oracular sentence which men construed according to their hopes and fears: "We do also resolve to protect and 1660

[1] See *ante*, p. 287.

preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation[1]." The events of the next twelve months were fully to elucidate the import of these words[2].

1661

On January 1, 1661, a Scottish Parliament met after an interval of nine years. "Never any Parliament," we are told by a contemporary loyalist, "was so obsequious to all that was proposed to them," and for the sufficient reason, that after the methods devised by James VI a careful process of selection had been applied to all its members[3]. The person chosen to represent his Majesty was that John Middleton, now Earl of Middleton, who had once been a Covenanter, but had subsequently done good service for Charles at Worcester and in the Highland rising against the Government of Cromwell. Under his presidency this famous Parliament diligently sat till the 12th of July, producing a tale of no fewer than three hundred and ninety-three Acts. Of these Acts several were well calculated to give satisfaction to the country at large. The privileges of numerous burghs were confirmed; an issue of copper coins for the benefit of the poor was ordained; and Acts were passed against the profanation of the Sabbath and against swearing and excessive drinking. But it was not such legislation that made this Parliament memorable in the national history: it was the succession of Acts which in the course of a single session restored that absolute monarchy which James VI had bequeathed to his successor as his unhappy legacy. With the king, it was enacted, lay "the sole choice and appointment" of all the great officers of State, the right of summoning and dissolving Parliaments at his pleasure, of making war and peace and concluding leagues and treaties. In the oath of allegiance that was to be exacted from all persons in offices of trust all these Acts were summarily comprehended: the king, it was declared, is "supreme Governor of this Kingdom over all persons and in all causes." All had now been done that could secure to the new king the absolute control over the goods, bodies, and souls of his subjects; but the most sweeping Act of all was yet to come. By a general Rescissory

[1] Wodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, I. 65—81, where the original documents are given. The volumes of the *Privy Council Register* of Scotland from which Wodrow makes his extracts are now published to the year 1672.

[2] In December of 1660 "107 hogsheads, 12 chests, 5 trunks and 4 barrels" of Scottish documents, which had been sent to London by Monk in 1651, were shipped for Scotland. On the way 85 hogsheads were lost by the wreck of the ship that bore them.

[3] Mackenzie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* (edit. 1821), pp. 12, 19. This, it is to be noted, is the "Bluidy Mackenzie" of Covenanting tradition.

Act the proceedings of every Parliament since 1633 were at one stroke declared null and void—those of 1641, in which Charles I was present, along with the rest. To put the seal to its enthusiastic loyalty, this remarkable Parliament voted an annual grant of £40,000 sterling to his Majesty—a burst of generosity "which became the ruin of this Kingdom[1]."

Before the Parliament rose, the great Marquis of Argyle had been sent to his account. He had been brought down from London in the preceding December in company with Sir John Swinton, who had been conspicuous as one of Cromwell's judges. Swinton made his peace with the authorities; but from February to May Argyle had to face a trial before judges who meant that it should have but one issue. The charge on which he was condemned was his compliance with the Government of Cromwell; and the proof of this compliance was supplied by Cromwell's own representative in Scotland, Monk—an example of baseness which staggered even the public men of that day. "It was not thought safe he should live," says Baillie; and what Argyle had been in the past and might still be in the future might well give some disquiet to a Government which had no root in the best feelings of the people. He had been his country's sagest statesman in the time when it most needed guidance, but by the part he played in the controversy between Protesters and Resolutioners he had forfeited the respect of both, and it was only by the manner of his death that he recovered it. In his life he had shown himself lacking in moral as well as physical courage, but at the last (May 24) his religion and his sense of personal dignity nobly sustained him. "I could die as a Roman," he said as he was led to the scaffold, "but choose rather to die as a Christian." Four days later he was followed by two Protesters, James Guthrie and Captain William Govan.

The ground having been cleared by Parliament, the Privy Council now addressed itself to the completion of the work that had been so energetically begun. It met at Holyrood on July 13th, and on September 6th made a notable announcement to the country. In the previous September, we have seen, Charles had told his Scottish subjects that he meant to preserve the Church as it was "settled by law." What that phrase

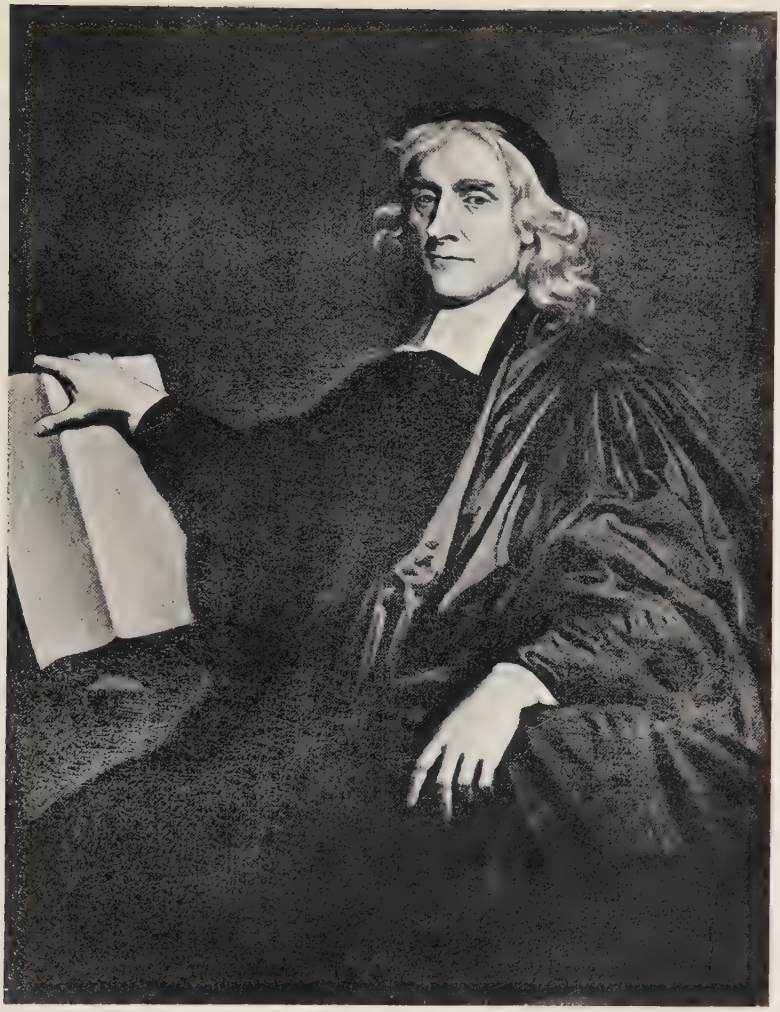
1661

[1] It was known as the "Drunken Parliament." The correspondence in the Lauderdale Papers proves that the Scottish statesmen of the Restoration drank to excess. Thus, we find Lauderdale reproving Rothes for his drinking habits, and Richard Baxter rebuking Lauderdale for the same vice.—I. 319, III. 235.

meant could no longer be doubtful: the Rescissory Act had effaced the last twenty-eight years; and the Church "settled by law" could mean only the Church as established by James VI and confirmed by his son. This, therefore, was the announcement now made by the Privy Council; and no time was lost in giving it effect[1]. In December four bishops were sent up to England to receive consecration, that they might communicate this virtue to their brethren in Scotland. Among the four were two men who might fitly symbolise the mixture of the earthly and the divine that has ever mingled in the Christian Church—James Sharp and Robert Leighton—the one the most worldly of ecclesiastics, the other rather a Christianised philosopher than a Christian theologian. In the ecclesiastical revolution Sharp had been a principal agent[2]. Minister of Craill in Fife, he had identified himself with the Resolutioners, and had successively represented their interests with Cromwell, Monk, and Charles. In March, 1661, he had written: "But if a change (of Church government) come, I make no question it will be grievous and bring on suffering upon many honest men, in which I would be very loath to have any hand[3]," but by December he was Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland. A more unfortunate instrument to commend bishops to reluctant Presbyters could not well have been chosen.

1662 It only remained for the Parliament to ratify the work of the Council, and this it duly accomplished in the course of its second session (May 8—September 9, 1662). Its first Act re-admitted the bishops to its sittings, and its third restored them to their "accustomed dignities, privileges and jurisdictions[4]." To another Act may be definitely traced the beginning of those religious troubles that give its character to Charles's reign. The Parliament of 1649 had abolished lay patronage; and many of the existing ministers now held their charges direct from their congregations and presbyteries. It was now enacted (June 11) that all such persons should before the 20th of September receive presentation from their lawful patrons and collation from their bishops, or demit their cures[5]. It was left to the Privy Council to outrun the Parliament. By the 20th of September few or none of the ministers in the diocese of Glasgow had sought their patrons and their bishops. To bring these persons to reason, therefore, the

[1] Wodrow, I. 230, where Charles's letter directing the Council is given.
[2] This is proved by Sharp's letter to Middleton (*Laud. Papers*, II., App. 6).
[3] *Ibid.* I. 89. [4] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VII. 370, 372. [5] *Ibid.* 376.



James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews.

Council, sitting in Glasgow on the 1st of October, ordained that, if the recalcitrant ministers did not conform to the law by the 1st of November, their parishioners should cease to acknowledge their ministers, and refuse to pay them their stipends[1]. The councillors had been led to believe that some few ministers might be found to sacrifice their livings: in point of fact between two and three hundred, or about a third of the whole ministry, chose to follow their consciences. Convinced of its folly, the Council subsequently extended the day of grace till the 1st of February, 1663.

Meanwhile the legislators were falling out among themselves —Middleton heading one party, and Lauderdale the other. From the beginning there had been a struggle between these two men for the first place in the conduct of Scottish affairs; and by two Acts passed in the late session of Parliament Middleton had sought to effect the ruin of his rival. By one of these Acts it was made compulsory for every person holding office to declare that the two Covenants were unlawful and seditious[2]. Lauderdale had been a Covenanter and was known still to have Presbyterian leanings, but he cynically exclaimed that he would sign a cartful of such oaths before he would lose his place[3]. The other Act recoiled on its author and proved his own ruin. From an Act of Indemnity, passed in the same session, Middleton proposed to exclude twelve persons, who should be incapable of holding public office—the twelve to be determined by a ballot of the House. As the business was managed by Middleton, Lauderdale was to be one of those proscribed, but Lauderdale was too quick for his enemy. Before the Act had reached the king, Lauderdale had convinced him of the absurdity and enormity of Middleton's proceeding. In December Middleton found it necessary to proceed to London "to maintain his own declining interest[4]"—an errand which his rival was also to defeat. So far as Scotland was concerned, his career was at an end; and the management of the country passed into other hands.

[1] Wodrow, I. 282—283, where the Act is given. The Act was procured by Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow (*Laud. Papers*, III. 51). The majority of the Council are said to have been drunk when it was passed.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VII. 406. [3] Mackenzie, 65.

[4] *Ibid.* 73—77. Mackenzie was one of Middleton's agents in the business.

II. Administration of Rothes—The Pentland Rising.

1663 So far as legislation could make him, Charles was now absolute master of his northern kingdom. Parliament, in the words of a loyalist historian of the period, was "his baron court"; and the Privy Council, together with the bench of bishops, was solely made up of his nominees, bound to do his bidding or to give way to others more compliant. It remained to be seen how such a Government would be received by the people at large. The chief person who was to be responsible for its administration was the secretary, Lauderdale, who by the part he played in the last years of his life stands forth as one of the most singular personages in the national history. Huge in bulk, with red hair and bloated face, and a tongue too big for his mouth, he possessed a mind and character in keeping with his external appearance. With brutal force, unblushing cynicism, and great capacity for affairs, he combined a passion for learning that did not desert him in the most critical periods of his public life[1]. Middleton being gone, Lauderdale came down to Scotland in May to direct the business of the third and last session of the Restoration Parliament. Though he was its moving spirit, however, the commissionership was assigned to a tool of his own, the Earl of Rothes, an illiterate debauchee, but, by the admission of Burnet, of "quick apprehension, with a clear judgment[2]." In the eyes of both, the summoning of Parliament was a pure matter of form, as its only function would be to confirm any measures that might be laid before it. It met on June 18th, and its first Act restored the method of electing the Lords of the Articles which had been introduced by James VI. An Act for a national synod of the Church and another for the raising of a militia of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse then followed; but the former of these never took effect, and for excellent reasons. Far otherwise was it to be with the Act "against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority," which imposed heavy fines on absentees from the parish churches, and which came to be known by the significant name of the "Bishops' Drag-net[3]." The history of the remainder of Charles's

[1] "Send with him [Dunfermline]," he writes (10th July, 1663), "my little octavo Hebrew Bible without points." *Laud. Papers*, I. 157.

[2] Burnet, I. 175.

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VII. 449, 455, 465, 480.

reign is in large degree the history of the attempts of the Government to enforce this Act.

While Parliament was still sitting, Johnston of Warriston was sent the way of Argyle and Guthrie and Govan (July 22). Kidnapped in France by the emissaries of Charles, he was brought to Scotland and put through the form of a trial. On the principles of the Restoration no one deserved death more than he, since among all the leaders who had defied Charles I no one had been more uncompromising or more eminent by word and deed. But he was now a wreck in body and mind, and his execution was justified by no such apprehensions as made the removal of Argyle an act of policy. He was the fourth and last victim of the Restoration in Scotland: in England the number of victims was fourteen.

Parliament was dissolved on October 9th; and Charles and his advisers meant that it should not soon have a successor. 1663
It was fitting, Lauderdale (speaking through Rothes) suggested, "that this Kingdom return to the good old form of government by his Majesty's Privy Council[1]"; and, in point of fact, from 1662 onwards it was the Privy Council that conducted the business of the country. Now, as in the years that were to follow, that business mainly consisted in drafting and enforcing penal statutes of progressive severity against religious recusants. In the beginning of 1663 the Council dealt with a matter which had been the source of mingled satisfaction and chagrin to Charles's servants in Scotland. In the session of 1662 the Parliament had passed an Act of Indemnity from which three classes of persons had been excluded. There were those such as Argyle and Warriston, whose exclusion meant death; and there were those twelve persons noted above, who were to be incapacitated from holding offices of trust. But there was a third and larger class, amounting to between eight and nine hundred, who were to benefit by the Act of Indemnity only on paying fines proportioned to their rank and estate. In the imposition and exaction of these fines Middleton and his friends had so directly consulted their own interests that it was one of the main causes of the change of Government which had been effected by Lauderdale. In these circumstances, and while Middleton was still fighting with Lauderdale's interest in London, the Council saw fit to delay the further exaction of the fines till a more convenient season.

[1] *Laud. Papers*, I. 172.

In this year, also, began that struggle between the Privy Council and the religious recusants which with little intermission
1663 was to last through the reign of Charles and his successor. The struggle had begun with the ejection of those ministers who held their charges without presentation from lay patrons. It was mainly in the south-western counties that these ejections had been found necessary; and it was with these counties, from the first, that the Government had its principal difficulties. The loss of their ministers roused the deepest feeling on the part of the great majority of the parishioners; and a proceeding that was forced on the Government by its own policy intensified this feeling to exasperation. To supply the places of the ejected ministers, strangers were thrust on the congregations, to whom they could only be a laughing-stock when they were not the objects of bitter dislike. It is not necessary to believe all the contemporary stories of these "King's Curates," as they came to be called; but, in the case of such a large body of men suddenly enlisted as divines, it is certain that many must have been ludicrously unfit for their new functions[1]. From the past history of the western counties, the Council had good reason to anticipate that its edicts would not be received with exemplary submission. It was in these counties that the opposition to the "Engagement" had issued in the open rebellion which had been crushed at Mauchline; and it was here, also, that the Protesters had been able to raise a formidable force to dispute the policy of Argyle and the Resolutioners. So little obedience did they now show to the ban laid on their ministers that in August the Council passed an Act with such precipitation that they overlooked the geographical limits of the country. Under the penalty of sedition the ejected ministers were forbidden to reside within twenty miles of their parishes, six miles of Edinburgh or any cathedral church, or three miles of any royal burgh[2]—conditions, says Wodrow, which "the nicest geographer" would have found it hard to satisfy.

It was by the imposition of fines that the Council sought to break the spirit of the recusants, and it had an instrument ready to hand for giving effect to its policy. We have seen that an Act had been passed by the late Parliament for the raising of a force of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. This complement was not raised,

[1] The Earl of Tweeddale, writing to Lauderdale, describes them as "insufficient, scandalous, imprudent fellows."—*Laud. Papers*, II. 207.

[2] Act in Wodrow, I. 340—1.

but a sufficient number were levied for the immediate purposes of the Government. Wherever special trouble arose, a detachment of these troops was promptly quartered, and carried out its orders with thoroughness and precision. The curate supplied the commanding officer with the names of the absentees, who were straightway mulcted in proportion to their condition and estate. When the fines were not forthcoming, the soldiers were quartered on the delinquents at the pleasure of their commander and till other parts of the country required their presence. Of the money thus raised it is sufficient to say that it paid the expenses of the troops and was a considerable source of income to impecunious Royalists.

According to a statesman of the time, two-thirds of the business of the country now related to the affairs of the Church. To relieve the Council of some of its duties, therefore, 1664 the Primate Sharp made an unhappy suggestion: this was to revive the Court of High Commission, which had been one of the devices of James VI to enforce his ecclesiastical notions on his reluctant subjects. The history of that institution, both in Scotland and England, might have warned Sharp that he was furbishing a rusty and dangerous weapon. With the approval of king and Council, however, the Commission was established on January 16, 1664, to continue during his Majesty's pleasure[1]. Like the previous Court under James VI, it failed to effect the end for which it had been created: its petty oppressions only steeled the hearts of the recusants, and, detested even by the law-abiding subjects, it fell into abeyance within less than two years.

The Court of High Commission was directed against existing offenders, but the old offenders during the great revolt were also made to feel that their offences were not forgotten. We have seen that the mulcting of those excluded from the Act of Indemnity had been postponed during his Majesty's pleasure. At length, in September, 1664, it was announced to the denoted persons, between eight and nine hundred in all, that their prescribed fines must be forthcoming by a given date under the pain of sequestration and imprisonment. The returns from these fines, it was declared, were to be devoted to the relief of reduced loyalists who had suffered during the pre-Restoration troubles—a promise somewhat imperfectly fulfilled[2].

[1] Act in Wodrow, 384—6.

[2] *Ibid.* 398—9, where the warrant is given.

These repressive measures affected only a minority, though a resolute and formidable minority of the people. But since the Restoration there had supervened a state of things in which every section of the community had to bear its own burden. The annual grant of £40,000 to the Crown would have been a heavy drain on the resources of the country at the most flourishing period of its history; but circumstances at this time made the burden intolerable. The abolition of free trade with England had closed the market for Scottish corn and cattle; but far more deadly to Scotland was Charles's war with Holland, which, beginning in 1664, lasted with little intermission for the following ten years. For centuries Holland had been the main outlet for Scottish exports, and the closing of the Dutch ports was a calamity of national magnitude. So vehement was the general feeling against the Dutch War that the Government found it necessary to take a novel step. The malcontents of the south and west, it was feared, would seize the opportunity of effecting a rising in connection with a Dutch invasion; and to prevent such a disaster the Council issued an order for the disarming of the discontented districts.

1665

The anticipated rising came at last, but neither in concert with the Dutch, nor on a scale sufficiently formidable to be a serious danger to the Government. Through the spring and summer of 1666 the severities exercised against the malcontents surpassed the record of all previous years. For the exaction of the indemnity fines, soldiers were quartered in the houses of the denoted parties till the last penny was paid. A new occupation, moreover, was found for the military, which was to make them an increasing terror in the years that were to come. On the ejection of the ministers, the more devoted of their flocks had at first met in private houses to hear the words which were forbidden in church. But with spies on every hand no roof was safe; and now began those gatherings, known as field-meetings or conventicles, the story of which is one of the great traditions of the Scottish people. In a letter to Lauderdale, Rothes himself describes how these conventicles were held. The audience, composed of men and women, met by the side of a morass or a river remote from their homes. The preachers were disguised, some of them, he says, even wearing masks; and all around watchers were placed to give warning of the approaching enemy. So secretly were the gatherings held, he adds, that it was difficult to hear anything of them till all was over[1].

1666

[1] *Laud. Papers*, I. 233—4.

To prevent such meetings—schools of sedition as the Government considered them—now became the special work of a soldiery who had their own share of the fines imposed on such persons as were taken[1]. On the temper produced by these dealings we have a significant commentary by Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow. "The least commotion in England or Ireland, or encouragement from foreigners abroad," he says, "would certainly engage us in a new rebellion[2]."

Among the military commanders who had carried out the edicts of the Government, Sir James Turner had been the most conspicuous. Thrice he had visited the disturbed districts and on each occasion had made his visit memorable[3]. On November 15, 1666, he was in Dumfries on the third of his errands, when a party of Galloway men surprised the town and made him their prisoner. That they spared his life is proof that they were not a gang of desperadoes. Having gone thus far, however, they could not turn back. In the hope of gathering strength they marched into Ayrshire, and finally at Lanark took the desperate resolution of marching on Edinburgh. Their numbers amounted to about 3000, but "neither armed nor ordered[4]." The conditions of their march were fitted to damp the most ardent zeal. It was winter, it rained incessantly, and the roads were all but impassable. On their track were the troops of the Government, led by Sir Thomas Dalziel, a name of horror to Presbyterian Scotland. They received no accessions by the way, and there was frequent defection. Thrice they were offered a vague promise of pardon if they would lay down their arms, but they resolutely held on their way. They had been led to believe that Edinburgh was favourably disposed to them, and it was not till they reached Colinton, about three miles west of the capital, that they were convinced of the hopelessness of their errand. 1666

Dalziel was now close upon them, and their only safety lay in swift retreat. As their safest and most direct route to the west they took their way across the Pentland Hills, and encamped near Rullion Green on their southern slopes (Nov. 28). There had come a sudden change in the weather; it was "a fair and frosty day," and the hills were covered with snow which had fallen thickly

[1] The soldiers' share of the fines was known as "riding-money."—Wodrow, II. 12.
[2] *Laud. Papers*, I. 215, note.
[3] A specimen of Turner's methods will be found in the *Laud. Papers*, II. 82.
[4] Wodrow, II. 26.

during the preceding night. Their commander, Colonel Wallace, was an officer of skill and experience, and he disposed his men, now under 900, with an eye to the attack that might come at any moment. On his right and left wings he stationed his horse, the left under Major Learmont being greatly the stronger. Between the wings he placed his unarmed foot, who could be of no service in the event of a battle.

These arrangements had hardly been made when a body of horse was seen approaching across the hills from the north. It was the van of Dalziel's army, which was speedily joined by the main body. As the two hosts first came face to face, they were separated by a hollow which necessitated a change of position before the action could commence. Dalziel's first movement was to despatch a body of horse against the enemy's left wing. This was the strongest part of the insurgent army, and the attack was stoutly met. Both sides having discharged their pieces, they closed at the sword's point, with the result that the Royalists gave way, and escaped heavy loss only because the ground did not permit effective pursuit. Encouraged by this advantage, Wallace, with such foot as were at his disposal, marched against the main body of Dalziel's horse, who withdrew to a neighbouring ridge, awaiting the arrival of their infantry. As the two armies now stood, Wallace, retaining his original arrangement, occupied the ridge known as Rullion Green, and Dalziel the skirts of the same rising ground. Dalziel was the first to begin the attack. Twice he despatched a body of horse against Wallace's left wing, and twice the attack was repulsed. A third attempt was more successful, and while Learmont was yielding ground a simultaneous onset on Wallace's right decided the fate of the day. Their left wing hopelessly broken, the main body of the insurgents were swept away by a general charge of the Royalists. It was already nightfall, and in the darkness most of the fugitives made good their escape. On neither side had the loss been heavy. Of the insurgents some fifty had fallen, and about the same number had been taken. The loss of the Royalists was even less.

The severities that followed the Pentland Rising form one of the blackest chapters in the national history. Again it was the Privy Council that was responsible for the atrocious policy which was adopted, and which within a few months was condemned in the interests of the Crown itself. In the case of certain members of the Council, genuine terror may have been the motive of their

callousness. The success of the great rebellion against Charles I was a terrible precedent which could never be forgotten; and, in the estimation of these councillors, any policy was justifiable that might avert such another calamity. But in the case of such men as the Commissioner Rothes, if we are to judge them by their own words, it was in sheer levity of heart that they addressed themselves to their revolting task.

In addition to the fifty prisoners taken on the field of battle some thirty more were given in by the people of the neighbourhood, who showed little sympathy for their unhappy countrymen. The majority of the prisoners were huddled into the "Haddock's Hole," a part of the High Church of Edinburgh, those of higher rank being bestowed in the Tolbooth. Their fate was in the hands of the Council, the proceedings of which showed that it would have no leanings to lenity. It was an unhappy fate that at such a crisis its President should be the chief ecclesiastic in Scotland, the Primate Sharp. Of all the members of the Council it was believed that none was more eager for rigorous measures than he. He was even accused of an action which would make him responsible for the severest measures of the Council. Charles, it was said, had written expressly to the Council desiring that no blood should be shed on account of the Pentland Rising, and Sharp had kept back the letter[1].

Out of seventy prisoners, ten of the most conspicuous were selected for immediate trial, the Council charging the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, to prosecute for the Crown. Their trial raised a question which Mackenzie has noted as one of curious interest in his time. For the accused it was argued that they had surrendered to quarter; that the officers to whom they surrendered represented the Crown; that in the time of Charles I quarter was recognised as safeguarding life; and finally that, if the accused had not surrendered, it would have gone worse with the king's own soldiers. The argument for the Crown was simple and decisive; the prisoners had been taken in the act of rebellion, and the quarter granted to them only applied to the moment. The trial had been but a necessary form, and all ten were hanged—each bearing his own testimony to the justice of his cause. A week later (December 14) another band of five underwent the same fate.

Even more odious than the executions was the application of torture, which became the frequent practice of the successive Governments of Charles II. The application of torture was a

[1] Wodrow, II. 37—38. Wodrow is supported by Kirkton and Shields.

perfectly legal proceeding, but since the Union of the Crowns it had been seldom put in practice and only in extraordinary cases. The Privy Council claimed the sole right of applying it[1], and it was its unwritten law that all its members should be present when it was applied. It was significant of the temper of the Restoration statesmen, therefore, that they so lightly enforced a practice which their predecessors abhorred. The special form of torture applied was the Boot—a wooden frame fitted with iron spikes which were driven into the victim's leg by successive blows of a hammer[2]. It was professedly the conviction of the Council that the Pentland Rising was the result of a deliberate conspiracy to overthrow the Government; and they selected two victims whom they believed to be among its prime movers. One of those victims, Hugh M'Kail, holds a high place in the martyrology of Scotland. He was a youth of attractive appearance, of high attainments, and a born apostle. He underwent the torture with rapturous courage, and when he stood on the scaffold there was not a dry eye in the crowd.

The bloody assize was not confined to Edinburgh. At Glasgow four persons were executed for having taken part in the Pentland Rising, and at Ayr a much larger number were condemned to the same fate. Simultaneously with the executions, fines and confiscations were rigorously enforced on all who were proved or suspected to have abetted the insurgents. It was these exactions, even more than the public executions, that embittered the men of the west against the Government. In many cases the money and lands extorted from suspected persons went to civil and military officials, who had thus an evil interest in raising ill-founded accusations. A brutal levity characterised the actions of the highest and the lowest officers of State. None went with more zest into the work of hanging, fining, and banishing "such rebellious traitors" than the Commissioner Rothes. "This day in Council," he wrote to Lauderdale, "there is [*sic*] nine more of the rebels that we have ordained immediately to go to trial, so that next week they go to pot[3]."

[1] On one occasion Charles I proposed to grant the right of torture to another body, when the Council protested that it was their peculiar privilege, and that it would be imprudent to extend it.

[2] The thumb-screw was another favourite instrument of torture. It did not come into use, however, till 1684.—Note to Hay Fleming's edition of Patrick Walker's *Six Saints of the Covenant* (Lond. 1901), II. 130.

[3] *Lauderdale Papers*, I. 254 *et seq.* A very necessary change is made in Rothes' spelling.

During the opening months of 1667 Sir Thomas Dalziel, the hero of Rullion Green, was entrusted with the task of extinguishing the spirit that had prompted the Pentland Rising. The Government was happy in the choice of its instrument. Dalziel had seen service in Muscovy and had a simple belief in the Divine right of kings. He even surpassed the expectations of his employers. His instructions were to fine every suspected person, and, if the fines were not forthcoming, to quarter his soldiers on the parties till they were "eaten up." So thoroughly did Dalziel accomplish this task and so convincing were his methods, that the people of the west began to think kindly of his predecessor, Sir James Turner. But the same year saw a decisive change in the policy of the Government; and again the change was due to the rivalries of statesmen. In the previous year Rothes and Sharp had caballed against Lauderdale, their former patron, with the object of securing the direction of affairs to themselves. The cabal had a temporary success, and during the closing months of 1666 Sharp was the most powerful person in the country. But, by the fall of Clarendon, Sharp lost his main supporter at the English Court, and the Pentland Rising did not commend his administration to Charles. Lauderdale again triumphed, and his influence was immediately seen in a more conciliatory policy towards the religious recusants. In August the army was disbanded; in September Rothes ceased to be Commissioner[1]; and in October came a proclamation of indemnity for the Pentland Rising. As a security that these concessions would not be abused, a "bond of peace," which virtually implied the utmost limit of passive obedience, was to be exacted from all who had been accessory to the late revolt. 1667

III. Administration of Lauderdale—Bothwell Bridge.

During the next twelve years Lauderdale was the person mainly responsible for the government of the country. What his grand aim in that government was, we have already seen: it was, in his own words, to make Charles master "in all causes and over all persons." In what spirit he carried out his work he has likewise told us in one of his letters to Charles: "The whole course

[1] Rothes was made Chancellor to the chagrin of Sharp, who desired the office that had been held by his predecessor Spottiswoode.

of my life," he wrote, "shall be to obey you in your own way[1]." Yet, in point of fact, throughout the whole term of his administration, Lauderdale was virtually his own master, and his powers were those of a satrap rather than those of a constitutional minister.

1668—1669

The Pentland Rising had proved that the severities of Rothes and Sharp had been a blunder, and Lauderdale began his administration with milder methods. Sir James Turner and Sir William Bellenden, the two military agents of the late Government, were disgraced; and on June 7, 1669, was issued what is known as the First Letter of Indulgence; allowing such ejected ministers as had lived "peaceably and orderly" to reoccupy their churches if they happened to be vacant[2]. The acceptance of the Indulgence meant the acceptance of Episcopacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown; and only about forty-two of the ejected ministers succumbed to the temptation, while those who stood fast were only hardened in their recusancy. To what the reconciled ministers had committed themselves was seen in a measure of the Parliament that met in October, with Lauderdale as king's commissioner. By an Act of November 16, it once more declared in set terms that the king possessed "supreme authority and supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical[3]." To the consternation and indignation of Lauderdale and Charles, the Government had received a rude blow from the house of its friends. In a document, authorised by the Episcopal Synod of Glasgow, and drafted by Archbishop Burnet, it was roundly affirmed that the late Indulgence had been granted against the interests and desires of the Church, and that as a result of the Government policy the religious condition of the country was more unsatisfactory than ever[4]. The Episcopal remonstrants were as summarily dealt with as their Presbyterian brethren: before the close of the year Archbishop Burnet was removed from his see by the express command of the king.

1670

Lauderdale's experiment of a milder policy was not of long duration. Between the Government and the recusant minority, in truth, no compromise was possible. On the day when Charles should abolish bishops and permit free General Assemblies, the western Whigs would become his law-

[1] *Laud. Papers*, II. 158; III. 3.
[2] Wodrow, II. 130.
[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VII. 554.
[4] The "Remonstrance" is given in the *Laud. Papers*, II. App. p. lxiv.

abiding subjects, but till that day they would be irreconcilable. The result of the late Indulgence had been that conventicles had become more numerous than ever; and, what was specially ominous, those who attended them began to carry weapons together with their Bibles. By what he called "a clanking Act" against conventicles, passed in the second session of the new Parliament, Lauderdale definitely announced that he had reverted to the policy of Rothes; and thenceforward every year of his administration was marked by increasing severity. An attempt made by Leighton, now Commendator of the see of Glasgow, to reconcile all parties only served to reveal their hopeless differences. To Leighton these differences seemed only "a drunken scuffle in the dark[1]"; but though this might be the view of a saint, the man who held it could only beget impatience in those who deemed that the battle they were fighting was the supreme struggle between God and Satan. To Presbyterian and Episcopalian alike, therefore, his proposed "accommodation," as it was called, was a miserable compromise which would give away the essential principles for which they existed.

An event in Lauderdale's private life had an important influence on his public career. In 1672 he married as his second wife Lady Dysart, widow of Sir Lionel Talmash, a woman of domineering character, ambitious, able, and fond of display. If Lauderdale ruled Scotland, it came to be said, his duchess (for in the year of his marriage he was made a duke) ruled him. The immediate result of the union was a breach with the most active of his supporters and the consequent strengthening of the hands of his enemies. This was notably proved in the fourth session of Parliament in November, 1673, when, for the first time since the Restoration, opposition was raised to the proposals of the Government. When Lauderdale called for the usual grant to the Crown, the Duke of Hamilton proposed that before the grant was voted the grievances of the country should be made known to the king. Supported by Charles, however, Lauderdale proved too strong for his opponents. The special grievances complained of were monopolies on salt, tobacco, and brandy; and these with Charles's consent were removed. Further opposition he summarily cut short by dissolving the Parliament in the teeth of vehement protests against his unconstitutional procedure. As no other Parliament was summoned during the

1673

[1] These are his own words (*Laud. Papers*, III. 76).

remainder of his administration, the only means of redress left open to his opponents was to send unavailing deputations to Charles, whose sympathies were wholly with Lauderdale as the unflinching champion of his prerogative.

In the mind of Charles and his advisers there was a haunting dread of a second Pentland Rising on a more formidable scale, which might issue in a popular revolt such as had produced the two Covenants[1]. The armed conventicles had given grounds for this apprehension; and the opposition now led by Hamilton and other nobles supplied fresh cause for alarm to a Government conscious that it had no hold on popular feeling. On the principles of Lauderdale and his master there was but one course open to them for the maintenance of the existing Church and State—systematic coercion applied to every subject who would not accept them. As it happened, there was a whole armoury of weapons ready to hand for the carrying out of such a policy. Since the Reformation, Presbyterians and Episcopalians between them had produced a body of penal statutes against Roman Catholics which were now directed with deadly effect against the Presbyterian recusants[2]. What was novel in the application of these statutes was the fact that they were directed against Protestants; and that they were applied on a scale that converted Government into an Inquisition.

A second Indulgence in 1672 had only further divided the Presbyterian party, and rendered more irreconcilable those who refused to profit by it. In 1674 heritors and masters were declared to be responsible for the religious conformity of their tenants and servants—an obligation which had frequently been imposed on Scottish Roman Catholics. The following year another penal statute, which had also been enforced against Catholics, was directed against more than a hundred persons, of whom about eighteen were ministers. This was the Scottish form of the "boycott," known as "Letters of Intercommuning," which forbade all subjects to hold intercourse with the persons denoted under the penalty of being treated as guilty of their crimes. The result of Lauderdale's vigorous policy was thus described to him by one of his correspondents. "But it is not to be imagined to what a height of malice and discontent people's spirits are raised not only

1674—1675

[1] This clearly appears from the *Lauderdale Papers*.

[2] For the penal statutes against Catholics, see under *Papist* the Indexes to the *Acts of Parl. of Scot.* and to the *P. C. Register*, as far as it is published.

amongst the foolish fanatic party, but even amongst all sorts of people, and they know not for what[1]." As things were going, it was evident that sooner or later the policy of Lauderdale would issue in the same result as that of his predecessor Rothes; and to many observers it seemed as if this result were precisely what he desired. So far as Scotland was concerned, the greatest service he could do to his master was to supply him with an army which could be of use in the event of troubles arising in England; and the discontent in Scotland afforded a pretext for maintaining a standing force in that country.

We come now to the crowning act of Lauderdale's coercive policy—the chief measure associated with his administration of Scottish affairs. In 1674 all heritors and masters had been declared responsible for their tenants and servants; but even this sweeping obligation was found to be inadequate, and by an Act of Council in 1677 they were required to sign a bond for the loyal behaviour of all persons whatever residing on their lands. Many nobles and gentlemen in the discontented shires refused to come under an obligation which it was beyond their powers to fulfil; and their refusal was held to be a conclusive proof that the country was ripe for rebellion. To prevent another rising such as that of Pentland, therefore, was the justification alleged by the Government for the remarkable step that followed. In February, 1678, a host of 6000 Highlanders and 3000 of the Lowland militia were introduced into Ayrshire with instructions to take up free quarters wherever they might find it convenient[2]. While taking their ease, the errand of the host was to disarm the country and to exact the bond of all who had hitherto refused it. But the armoury of the Government was not yet exhausted. When any Scottish subject had reason to fear violence at the hand of another, he could procure what were known as "letters of law-burrows," by which the party complained of became bound to keep the peace. By a novel and ingenious application of this system the Government demanded security by law-burrows from those of the king's subjects who still refused to take the bond. But not even the devouring host availed to persuade the majority

1677—1678

[1] *Laud. Papers*, III. 6.

[2] With the exception of persons whom the Privy Council might indicate.—Wodrow, II. 386. The visitation of the Highland host had the approval of the bishops (*Laud. Papers*, III. 93 *et seq.*).

to incur the impossible obligation; and when, after a month's luxurious quarters, it took its way homewards, laden with the spoils of the Lowlander, the Government had reaped nothing but a harvest of fines and intensified dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. To certain of Lauderdale's supporters the result brought another disappointment. Under the galling oppression of the Highland host it had been confidently expected that the people would be goaded to rebellion, when forfeitures would follow and estates would be seeking new owners. On St Valentine's Day, we are told, the hangers-on of Lauderdale drew estates instead of mistresses[1].

1678 In the case of the Highland host we have a specimen of the wisdom with which the Privy Council discharged its executive functions, and in a famous incident we have an illustration of its methods as a judicial body. In 1668 one James Mitchell made an ineffectual attempt to shoot Archbishop Sharp while driving in his coach in the streets of Edinburgh. The intending assassin escaped, but six years later he was recognised by Sharp and arrested by his order. Brought before the Privy Council, he was induced to confess his crime under a promise that his life should be spared. The Council's hands were thus tied, and his case was transferred to the Court of Justiciary. Before this Court he denied the charge of having fired the shot, and, as no evidence could be produced against him, he was sent to the Bass Rock for safe keeping. He was not forgotten: in 1676 he was again brought before the Court of Justiciary—on this occasion on the charge of having been in the Pentland Rising, but, though he was plied with the torture of the boot, he made no admission that could incriminate him, and his judges had to be content with sending him back to his prison. Two years later (January, 1678) he was once more tried by the Justiciary Court on the original charge of his attempt on Sharp. He was defended by Sir George Lockhart, one of the leading advocates of the day, who pleaded that Mitchell had made his confession to the Privy Council under the pledge that his life would be safe. Four Privy Councillors, Lauderdale, Rothes, Archbishop Sharp, and Lauderdale's brother, Lord Halton, deponed on oath that the pledge had not been given, and Lauderdale refused to allow the Register of the Council to be produced. Lauderdale would have spared their victim, but Sharp was inexorable, and

[1] Burnet, II. 135.

Mitchell was sent, in Lauderdale's words, "to glorify God at the Grassmarket."

The year 1679 was a year of tragic events that made a dismal close to the period of Lauderdale's domination in Scotland. The murder of Archbishop Sharp, the revolt of the religious recusants, the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and the terrible retribution that followed, render this year one of the most memorable in Scottish history.

In the person of the Primate Sharp was incarnated for the extreme Presbyterians all that was impious against heaven and detestable in the sight of man. Once a Resolutioner and therefore bound to the Covenants, he had betrayed the cause which he had been expressly chosen to represent, and had been the prime agent not only in the setting up of Erastian Episcopacy but in all the severities which for eighteen years had been directed against those whom he had formerly counted his brethren. The cruel fear which had led him to seek the death of Mitchell at the cost of his honour had added the finishing touch to his career of apostasy; and, at a time when passions were inspired and distorted by religious exaltation, it was in the nature of things that some wilder spirits should deem his destruction to be but the just judgment of heaven. Yet in this case it was not as in that of Cardinal Beaton: his death was not the result of careful premeditation but of convenient opportunity interpreted as a divine sanction by religious frenzy and the bitterness of hate. On the 3rd of May Sharp was returning from Edinburgh and, seated in his coach with his daughter, had reached Magus Muir, some two miles from St Andrews. That day twelve men, including David Hackston of Rathillet and John Balfour of Kinloch, all outlawed for their religion, had been diligently seeking one Carmichael, an agent of Sharp's who had made himself peculiarly obnoxious in Fife. Carmichael had received a hint of their intentions and had bestowed himself safely; but, just when the twelve began to despair of finding their victim, they received information that the arch-enemy himself was at hand. With one mind they hailed his appearance as a divine interposition. They came up with the coach, and made their work more ghastly by the very frenzy of their ecstasy. Successive shots fired into the carriage failed to execute their purpose, and at length dragging him forth, amid the pitiful outcries of himself and his daughter, they cut at him with their swords and finished their work of pious atrocity.

1679

The open slaughter of the Primate of Scotland could not but
1679 embitter the feelings of both parties. On the one side the inquisition became more relentless, on the other the sense of oppression more desperate. Events rapidly followed that form the darkest and sublimest passages of the national history. On the 29th of May, the anniversary of the Restoration, which it had been made penal not to observe[1], a band of eighty armed recusants entered the village of Rutherglen, about three miles to the east of Glasgow. Extinguishing the bonfires that had been kindled in honour of the day, they proceeded to the market-cross and there publicly burned all the Acts of the Government which had overthrown the Church of the Covenants. From such an action there was no retreat; and the devoted band remained under arms, receiving fresh accessions of kindred spirits. Three days later, on a Sabbath morning, they were encamped on Loudon Hill, near the village of Strathaven, engaged in the religious services for the right of which they were now in arms, when their watchers announced that the troopers were at hand. They were led by John Graham of Claverhouse, of whom we now first hear in connection with the work for which he seems to have been a chosen instrument. The insurgents had about forty horse and two hundred foot, and as they had taken their lives in their hands they had no alternative but to fight. Proceeding to an advantageous position at Drumclog about two miles off, they waited the attack. The engagement was short and sharp, and its result the total rout of the royal troops. Reinforced by fresh accessions, the victors next day marched on Glasgow, where they had many sympathisers; but the city was garrisoned by a considerable force, and after a fruitless assault they retreated to the town of Hamilton.

The preparations of the Government to quell the revolt showed
1679 that they were seriously alarmed. The fencible men of the eastern and loyal counties were summoned to arms —fifteen thousand being the number deemed necessary to ensure success. To command the host the king's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, was sent down from England. Monmouth had married the heiress of Buccleuch, was acquainted with the state of Scottish parties, and was known to disapprove of the policy of Lauderdale. By the third week of June the two armies were facing each other at

[1] Two Acts had been passed (1662, 1672), enjoining the observance of the anniversary of the Restoration. The second had made its non-observance penal. *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VII. 376; VIII. 73.

Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

Hamilton, where the insurgents had lain since their retreat from Glasgow. Their numbers had swelled in the interval, but they were no longer a united body with one soul and mind. It was now seen what a fatal cleavage the late Indulgence had made in the Presbyterian ranks. When the attempt was made to draw up a declaration of their grievances, one party insisted that the Indulgence should be included in the list; the other, consisting of those who had accepted it, refused to subscribe such a testimony. On June 22, the two armies fronted each other at a bridge that spanned the Clyde at the village of Bothwell—the insurgents on the south, and the royal troops on the north bank of the river. Before the engagement began, a deputation was sent to Monmouth with the offer of submission if a promise were given of a free Parliament and a free General Assembly. As public opinion then stood in Scotland, a free Parliament and a free General Assembly would have meant the end of the existing Government; and the deputation was told that any demands they had to make would be heard only when they had laid down their arms. The insurgents were strongly posted, and, had they been of one mind, their enthusiasm might well have turned the day in their favour. But even while their fate was hanging in the balance, the ministers in their camp "preached and prayed against one another[1]."

Unprepared, divided, and with no definite plan of action, the insurgents had further the disadvantage of being led by an incapable commander. This was Robert Hamilton, son of Sir James Hamilton of Preston, who was a steady, though enlightened Royalist. Robert Hamilton had identified himself with the extremest section of the recusants, and by his conduct at Drumclog had given proof of his zeal and courage. Since that day he had claimed the leadership of the host in military affairs, though he had no more experience of war than any peasant in his following. With an army such as has been described even the greatest of generals might have been helpless, but Hamilton showed himself as irrational in council as feeble in action; and the question was afterwards asked whether he had behaved "most like a traitor, coward, or fool[2]."

The only chance for the insurgents was to hold Bothwell Bridge against the enemy, and some two or three hundred Galloway men were entrusted with the duty of securing it—one of their leaders being Hackston of Rathillet, who had been among the assassins of

[1] Wodrow, III. 92. [2] *Ibid.* 107.

the Primate Sharp. As all his actions proved, Hackston was a man of the most determined resolution. Under him and other leaders the little band made a gallant resistance, and for an hour they maintained their position against the royal troops. Their ammunition failing, they besought their incompetent general either to send them a fresh supply, or to relieve them with a new detachment. Hamilton's reply was that they should abandon the bridge and join the main body. The insensate order was obeyed, with the immediate result which Hamilton's best officers had foreseen. Monmouth's cannon, having been transported across the open passage, at once began to play with deadly effect on the disheartened Whigs. The cavalry that formed their left offered a special mark to the Royalist fire, and they made an attempt to take up a safer position on some higher ground; but their untrained horses would not again face the cannonade, and the riders losing control of them they broke among the foot, creating a confusion which affected the whole army. Flight at once became general, Hamilton himself being one of the first to quit the field. Though Monmouth gave orders that mercy should be shown to the fugitives, the loss of the insurgents was heavy in proportion to their numbers —about 400 being slain, and 1200 taken. Beyond a few killed at the bridge, the Royalists hardly lost a man. It added bitterness to the defeat of the Whigs that but for their own folly Bothwell Bridge might have had the same ending as Drumclog. "Never," says Wodrow, "was a good cause and a gallant army, generally speaking hearty and bold, worse managed; and never will a cause, though never so good, be better managed when divisions, disjointings, and self creep in among the managers[1]."

The proceedings of the Government in connection with Bothwell Bridge showed as cruel folly as the proceedings that followed the Pentland Rising. Of executions there were fewer than in the case of the first rebellion. Two ministers, named John King and John Kidd, were hanged at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and five suffered the same fate at Magus Muir, the scene of Sharp's murder, though with that business they had no concern. But it was in its treatment of the rank and file of the prisoners that the Council showed its ineptitude. The prisoners, over 1000 in number, were bound two and two and led to Edinburgh. It was one of the difficulties into which the Government was led by its own policy that it had no adequate provision for the numerous prisoners who

[1] Wodrow, III. 107.

fell into its hands: where to bestow a thousand men must have been a curious problem for the Scottish Privy Council. Its decision was that they should be enclosed in Greyfriars' churchyard till such time as their fate should be determined. A batch of 200 more prisoners from Stirling were lodged in the same place; and for nearly five months the majority of them—half-clad, ill-fed, exposed day and night to the weather—were kept in their strange prison[1]. By the end of July 400 had taken a bond that they would not again rise in arms, and were allowed to return home. Over two hundred and fifty refused to accept the terms which the Government was prepared to offer them; and, as the expense of maintaining them was a severe drain on a scanty exchequer, the Council at length determined to be rid of them once for all. Early in a morning of November the devoted band were conveyed to Leith, where a ship lay ready to convey them to the Barbados[2]. But the majority of them were doomed never to reach their destination. Off the Orkney Islands a storm drove the vessel on a rock which split her in twain. The captain and crew contrived to save their own lives, but some two hundred of the prisoners, who had been secured under the hatches, went down with the ship.

Monmouth in his dealings with the Presbyterians had displayed a mildness and sympathy which had long been absent from the councils of the Government, and on his return to London he procured an Act of Indemnity and a third Act of Indulgence, as futile as they were well meant. Again there was to be a new departure in Scottish affairs, and a hand heavier than that of Rothes and of Lauderdale was to be laid on the unhappy devotees of Presbytery. Bothwell Bridge closed the career of Lauderdale as Rullion Green had closed the domination of Rothes. In England he had as deadly enemies as in Scotland, and both had done their utmost to discredit him with Charles. The English Commons petitioned for his removal from the king's councils on the ground that he had attacked the liberties of both countries; and the party of Hamilton presented a formidable indictment regarding his misgovernment in Scotland. Charles still stood by the man who had scrupled at no policy that might serve the interests of the

1679

[1] On the approach of winter some wooden huts were erected, "which was mightily boasted as a great favour."—Wodrow, III. 124.

[2] Such Scotsmen as were at various times sent to the Barbados were found to be excellent servants. The Governor of the Island thus writes to Lauderdale: "Some of your nation I find here, and those good subjects. I wish there were more of them."—*Laud. Papers*, II. 27.

Crown; but when in December, 1679, James, Duke of York, took his place at the board of the Scottish Privy Council in Edinburgh, the satrapy of Lauderdale was at an end[1].

IV. Administration of the Duke of York—The Cameronians.

By concession and repression the once mighty force of Scottish Presbyterianism had at length been broken. Most deadly of the weapons in the accomplishment of this result had been the three Acts of Indulgence which had successively cut so deep into the ranks of Nonconformity. In succumbing to the threats and promises of the Government, the Indulged ministers had undoubtedly compromised the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism. Christ the Head of the Church, and free General Assemblies—these had been for Knox and Andrew Melville and Alexander Henderson the indispensable conditions of a Church founded on the rock of Scripture and alone sanctioned by Heaven. The Indulged ministers therefore had not been faithful unto death; but it is not by men born to be heroes and martyrs that well-ordered states are founded and maintained; and the compliance of these ministers was, in truth, the first and necessary step towards that religious and political compromise which the force of circumstances was gradually imposing on the Scottish people. When the absolutism of the Stewarts was succeeded by a more rational Government, the example of the Indulged ministers, who composed the great mass of the Presbyterian clergy, was of the most potent effect in substituting the idea of toleration for that of the religious absolutism of Knox and Melville.

1680 But it was not these Indulged ministers and the parishioners who followed their leading who gave its character to the period at which we have now arrived. The blackest and most impressive page in the national history, this period owes its character to that indomitable section of the Presbyterians whom neither concession nor relentless pursuit could persuade to palter with their consciences and accept a Government which, in their conception, existed to destroy every belief which they held most sacred. As things now stood, these men had ceased to possess the

[1] It is worth noting that the Presbyterian annalists, Kirkton, Wodrow, and Law, each representing different shades of opinion, all speak kindly of Lauderdale. They attribute his severities against the Covenanters to the influence of his second wife.

rights of subjects, and under the highest penalties every man's hand was against them. To hold converse with them, to harbour them, to supply them with the necessaries of life—meant death or outlawry. It was as the immediate result of Bothwell Bridge and the atrocities that followed that the "Society People," as they styled themselves, became a distinct body with recognised leaders and a definite programme of action. Their leaders were Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, from whom they came to be known as "Cameronians"; their principles they now announced to the world in language that could not be misunderstood. On the 22nd of June, 1680, some twenty of them entered the burgh of Sanquhar in Dumfriesshire and affixed to the market-cross a formal Declaration in which they disowned Charles Stewart as their king on the ground of "his perjury and breach of covenant to God and His Kirk[1]." The doctrine of the Declaration, it need not be said, was not a novelty in the history of the Christian Church. Theologians Roman Catholic, Anglican, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian, all at one time or other have taught or enforced the right of subjects to cast off rulers accused of seeking to destroy the true religion. The daring challenge, however, supplied the Government with cogent reasons for the extirpation of a sect which had thus declared open war against the existing order; and a month later a heavy blow was struck at the devoted band.

On the 22nd of July, 1680, a body of the "Wanderers," headed by Cameron and Hackston of Rathillet, were in the parish of Auchinleck in Kyle, a district of Ayrshire. 1680 They had lain on the moorside all the night, when about ten in the morning they were suddenly surprised by the approach of a party of dragoons who had been on their track. These were led by Bruce of Earlshall, a noted hunter of conventiclers, and were little more than a hundred in number. The Cameronians counted only twenty-three horse and forty poorly armed foot. Were they willing to fight, Hackston demanded? All agreed to see the business to the end. Airds Moss was behind them, but there were passages through it by which it was possible to escape if the day went against them. While the foot retained their position, Hackston at the head of his small band of horse made a desperate charge on the Royalist troop. They were at once overpowered, but Hackston, extricating himself from the fray, made off through the bog. He

[1] Wodrow, III. 213, note. Another manifesto, known as the "Queensferry Paper," had not the formal sanction of the party. *Ibid.* 207 *et seq.*

had not ridden far before his horse was mired, and, while engaged in single combat with one of his pursuers, was at length overpowered by numbers. Few of the foot fell, as swift pursuit was impossible through the adjoining bog, but Cameron was slain fighting to the last. By his fervency of conviction and his commanding character he was a man born to head a desperate cause, and his memory remained an inspiration to the sect to which he gave his name. His severed head and hands were presented to the Council in Edinburgh, and in accordance with the custom of the time were stuck on the post of the Netherbow. The fate of Hackston could not be doubtful; as one of the assassins of Sharp and a rebel taken in arms, he had incurred the utmost penalty of the law. Unshaken in the conviction of the righteousness of his aims and actions, he met his end with the resolution of a soldier and a martyr[1].

Cargill was now the only prominent leader left to the extreme Presbyterian party, and he undismayed took the one further step which the Sanquhar Declaration had involved. At a conventicle which he held at the Torwood in Stirlingshire he solemnly excommunicated the king, the Duke of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, Rothes, General Dalziel, and the Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie. This proceeding at once excited the mirth of the Royalists and the displeasure of the moderate Presbyterians. "This step of his," says Wodrow, "was approven by none that I know of but his own followers[2]." It, in fact, made the final cleavage in the Presbyterian party; henceforward the followers of Cargill refused "to partake in ordinances dispensed by any Presbyterian minister[3]" till another religious teacher took the place of Cargill, whose doom was close upon him.

1681 In the eyes of the Government Cargill was now the most dangerous rebel at large. He and his followers had solemnly renounced their allegiance, and they had shown that they were prepared to meet the sword with the sword in the defence of their lives and their cause. With a price of 5000 marks on his head, Cargill sought safety in the wildest districts of the west country, preaching wherever he could gather together a faithful few. On an evening in July, 1681, he had preached on the common of Dunsyre, in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, and after the sermon had sought hiding in a mill in the neighbouring hamlet of Covington. An officer of dragoons,

[1] Wodrow, III. 219 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.* 224. [3] *Ibid.* 224—5.

John Graham of Claverhouse.

Irvine of Bonshaw, had been upon his track, and before the day broke he had the hunted preacher in his hands. Brought before the Privy Council in Edinburgh, Cargill bore himself in keeping with the gospel he had taught: he acknowledged and justified all his public actions, and denied at once the authority of the Government, and of the king who was its head. "This is the most joyful day that ever I saw in my pilgrimage on earth," he wrote immediately before his execution. Four of his followers suffered along with him, and within a few months five others similarly sealed their testimony[1].

It was in the midst of such scenes that in July, 1681, the king's brother, James, Duke of York, appeared as Royal Commissioner in succession to Lauderdale and Rothes. He had already paid two visits to Scotland and had made himself generally acceptable to the ruling classes in the country, and specially to the more powerful among the chieftains of the Highlanders. It was now, however, that he began that policy by which, first as commissioner and afterwards as king, he eventually alienated Scotland from its ancient race of princes. On the 28th of July he opened a Parliament, the first that had met for nine years, from which he extorted two Acts that staggered even the staunchest upholders of the prerogative. By the first, the Act of Succession, it was declared "that no difference in religion.....can alter or divert the right of succession and lineal descent of the Crown[2]." As the duke was a declared Catholic and the presumptive heir to the throne, the precise object of this Act could not be mistaken. But it was the other Act that put the greatest strain on the supporters of the Crown. This was a test that was henceforward to be taken by all persons holding offices of trust in Church and State. The terms of this test were so self-contradictory that it became the standing jest of the time. He who signed it committed himself to being at once a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, and a Roman Catholic. Sir James Dalrymple, President of the Court of Session, resigned his office rather than come under an impossible obligation; and eighty of the Episcopal clergy followed the same course. One exalted person, however, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, son of the great marquis, was marked for special dealing.

The family antecedents of Argyle rendered him a suspicious person to the Duke of York, though he had hitherto supported the ecclesiastical policy of the Government; and such an occasion

[1] Wodrow, III. 279.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VIII. 39.

for getting rid of one who might prove at least an inconvenient opponent was not to be let slip. The proceedings that followed disquieted all but the most fanatical supporters of the Government. When asked to take the oath, Argyle agreed to take it "as far as it was consistent with itself." But this reservation did not satisfy the Council or the duke, whose tool it was, and he was lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh. This misconstruing of the king's laws, it was held, constituted the crime of treason, and on this charge Argyle was tried before the Court of Justiciary. By a majority of one he was found guilty and secured in the castle. What the sentence might be was uncertain, but he had little reason to trust to the tender mercies of James. He was to have been removed from the castle to the common prison for criminals, but before this was effected his friends came to his rescue. Disguised as a page, and holding up the train of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, he eluded his guards, and after various adventures succeeded in escaping to Holland. At a later day he was again to fall into the hands of his persecutors, and in circumstances that sealed the fate which he had for that time avoided[1].

1681—1683

No other Parliament met during the remainder of Charles's reign; and it was through the agency of the Privy Council that the duke henceforward gave effect to his Scottish policy. This policy was, in brief, to have Scotland at his will on the day of his accession to his brother's throne. By the Act of Succession he had sought to make himself secure of the Scottish Crown, but it was further necessary that no formidable elements of opposition should be left in the country to occasion future trouble. The Test Act was the effectual instrument by which James could hope to effect this end[2]. Applied in every case where it was found expedient, it bound not only every State official, clergyman, judge, and magistrate, but every dangerous or suspected subject. Signs were not wanting to prove, however, that the country suspected where the duke's policy must end, and that the event was regarded with equal dread and disapproval.

[1] In mockery of Argyle's trial the boys of Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, hanged their watch-dog, because he refused to swallow the test paper which they had smeared with butter to make the process of gulping it more easy.—Fountainhall, *Historical Observes* (Ban. Club), pp. 55—6, 303—10.

[2] Fines were still reckoned on as an ordinary source of revenue. The Duke of York thus writes to the Marquis of Queensberry: "I am glad to find you think you may raise considerable fines from Galloway and other disaffected shires."—Buccleuch and Queensberry Papers, *Hist. MSS. Commission* (1897), p. 179.

The students of the College of Edinburgh burned the pope in effigy, and those at Glasgow ostentatiously wore the blue riband of the Covenant (1680). A moderate Loyalist thus noted his impression of the new administration: "Though we change the governors, yet we find no change in the arbitrary government. For we are brought to that pass we must defend and court the Chancellor, Treasurer, and a few other great men and their servants, else we shall have difficulty to get either justice or dispatch in our actions, or to save ourselves from skaith[1]."

The main concern of the Government was still the suppression of that intractable remnant which defied every engine of authority that had been directed against them. 1684 Though they had now lost their second great leader, Cargill, they still met in the moors and mosses and hills to pray and preach and to denounce woes to their idolatrous rulers. Like their fellow-Protestants under the dragonnades of Louis XIV, they now came to regard themselves as the special objects of the "contendings" of heaven and hell. Their enemies were the commissioned agents of the powers of darkness; and natural phenomena were interpreted as manifestations directly bearing on the daily events of their lives. Prophetism and illuminism were the natural result—in some cases passing into mere religious frenzy, in others into a reasoned exaltation of feeling nourished by Hebrew prophecy and intensified by their modes of life and the hourly presence of danger[2]. Outlaws by their own choice, they were now hunted, in their own phrase, like partridges on the mountains. Hitherto they had professed to defend themselves only when attacked, but goaded to desperation they at length declared open war against their enemies. In their "Apologetical Declaration[3]" (1684), they solemnly warned every agent of the Government who in field or justice-court should seek their lives that he would do so at his own peril. The Government took up the challenge, and after its long experience it had effective weapons at its disposal. In Sir George Mackenzie (the "Bluidy Mackenzie" of Covenanting

[1] Fountainhall, p. 87.

[2] The extraordinary literature produced by the persecution is the permanent psychological record of the time. The titles of the books that compose it are usually so lengthy that they cannot be given here. A partial list will be found in Hill Burton, VII. 274 (1873). As illustrating the religious vagaries of the time, cf. Wodrow's account of John Gib and his followers (III. 348—356). Wodrow speaks in the severest terms of the Gibbites.

[3] Wodrow, IV. 148. It was drawn up by James Renwick.

tradition), the Lord Advocate of the day, it possessed a public prosecutor as fanatical for the prerogative as any western Whig for the Covenant[1]. But after the "Apologetical Declaration" courts of justice were dispensed with, and the execution of the law was placed in the hands of those military leaders whose soldiery garrisoned the disaffected districts. Conspicuous among these leaders were two of whom we have already heard, General Dalziel and Graham of Claverhouse. Their instructions were short and precise. When a suspected person was taken, he was simply asked if he abjured the "Apologetical Declaration." If he answered "Yes," he was retained for further examination, if he answered "No," the dragoons did their duty. At this very period (1684—1685) Louis XIV began his dragonnades for the extinction of Protestantism in France, and with the approval, be it remembered, equally of Madame de Sévigné and the saintly Fénelon. Cruel as was the procedure of the Government of Charles II against the Cameronians, it was humane in comparison with that of Louis against the Camisards.

The political system of Charles II had now lasted for twenty-four years, and had been maintained from the first only by the uniform repression of public opinion and by the removal of all dangerous opponents. A free General Assembly and a free Parliament would have overthrown it in a single day. Moderate Episcopalians and moderate Presbyterians had in different degrees their special grounds for dissatisfaction with the existing system. As Episcopacy had been established and maintained since the Restoration, its clergy possessed no initiative for the better ordering of their Church, and were merely the salaried officials of the State. But it was the Presbyterians who had the deepest sense of the injustice of the ecclesiastical settlement effected at the Restoration. As was to be proved a few years later, the preponderance of national sentiment was decisively in their favour; and their ideals of Church polity had been set aside simply because they were deemed incompatible with the Stewart conception of monarchy. In the existing circumstances the prospect of a revolution in their favour was further off than ever. To Charles would succeed his brother, whose present policy and methods augured a future still

[1] "There is no need for nice scruples in State affairs," so writes Mackenzie to the Earl of Balcarras. Writing as a philosopher and not as an advocate, Mackenzie could say "that to punish the body for that which is a guilt of the soul is as unjust as to punish one relation for another."—"The Religious Stoic," *Works*, Vol. I. 41 (1716).

Bass Rock where Covenanters were confined.

more disastrous to Protestantism. So hopeless did the outlook appear that in 1682 some thirty-six nobles and gentlemen revived a scheme for settling in Carolina which had been first conceived during the administration of Lauderdale[1]. The scheme proved fatal to one of the intending emigrants. While in London in 1683 in connection with their scheme certain of them became involved in the Rye-House Plot for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. Among these was Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode, a Scottish gentleman of the highest character and accomplishments. Sent down to Edinburgh as a prisoner, he was tried for high treason under conditions which prove that revenge rather than justice was the object of his judges. He was an old man, known to be dying and incapable of mischief, yet he was subjected to a protracted examination, conducted with flagrant disregard of all fair dealing. He was executed at the market-cross of Edinburgh (December 24, 1684)—one more victim of the political necessities of the Restoration.

Charles II died on February 2, 1685. As a man he could not be much lamented by a people who had never seen his face since he had become their king. As a king 1685 he had been swayed by but two motives—the maintenance of his prerogative and the supply of his purse. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that he increased the powers of the Crown which he had inherited from his two immediate predecessors. James VI in the last years of his reign and Charles I till the great revolt of 1638 governed Scotland with as absolute sway as Charles II through the agency of Rothes and Lauderdale and the Duke of York. For almost every act of his reign he could allege a precedent in those of his father and grandfather. In subjecting Parliament, Privy Council, the Church, Courts of Justice, and municipalities to his personal will he could truly maintain that he was but acting in accordance with the constitution he had inherited. Even in the case of his harshest measures against the religious recusants, the penal laws against Roman Catholics as enemies of the State supplied him with precedents which could not be disputed, except on the ground that he was a professed Protestant persecuting Protestants. By the circumstances of his position, however, the political system he had inherited assumed a character which had not belonged to it under James VI and Charles I. The haunting dread of another such rebellion as had

[1] Wodrow, III. 368.

cast down his father was ever before the minds of himself and his advisers; and, on the principles on which he chose to govern, there was no alternative but relentless suppression of every recalcitrant element in the State. James VI had to exercise much pressure before he succeeded in displacing Presbytery by Episcopacy, but the subjects of Charles II had the memory of the triumphant Covenants in their minds and of twelve years' successful revolt against the royal authority. To coerce a nation that had thus known liberty and had become conscious of its powers was the task of Charles and his ministers. How they accomplished their task is fitly described when it is said that it was by the methods of an Inquisition rather than by forms of government[1]. His reign, like those of his two predecessors, had proved that, at the stage of development the country had now attained, a ruler who differed from the majority of his subjects on the fundamental principles of national well-being had ceased to be a possibility.

[1] The "Letters illustrative of Public Affairs in Scotland addressed by Contemporary Statesmen to George, Earl of Aberdeen, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, 1681—1684" (Spalding Club, 1851), vividly illustrate the methods of Charles's government.

CHAPTER VII.

JAMES VII (1685—1688).

I. The Dispensing Power.

On February 10th, 1685, James, Duke of York, was proclaimed King of Scots at the Market-cross of Edinburgh. In ascending the throne he was guilty of a grave omission 1685 which was carefully remembered against him when his day of reckoning came; he did not take the Coronation oath which bound the Scottish kings to defend the Protestant religion. He signalised his accession by an Act of Indemnity, which, as it expressly excluded every recusant, left things precisely as they were[1]. In point of fact, the opening year of James's reign was marked by greater severities against every form of Nonconformity than any period of the reign of Charles II. It was peculiarly "the black year, the killing time." For this increased severity there was an immediate reason. The "Apologetical Declaration" had not remained a dead letter: in consistency with its threats the Cameronians had given emphatic proofs that they would no longer be molested with impunity. They rescued their friends, attacked and slew dragoons, and chastised such of the established clergy as they suspected of being informers. The Government made a distinction between two classes of the recusants. There were those who failed to give a general satisfaction as to their consistent loyalty, and there were those who refused to abjure the Apologetical Declaration. The former class were dealt with by the itinerary Courts of Justiciary, and their punishment was to have one ear amputated and to be shipped to the American Plantations[2]. Those who were thus punished have to be reckoned by hundreds. The second class were dealt with in more summary fashion, their fate being

[1] Wodrow, IV. 205, note.

[2] MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report XV., Part VIII., p. 105.

placed at the disposal of the military officer into whose hands they fell. Among the commanders to whom this work was entrusted John Graham of Claverhouse has easily the pre-eminence. According to the testimony of his intimates Claverhouse was of "a high, proud, and peremptory humour, and was known for his great hatred to fanatics[1]." As the kinsman of Montrose and a born Cavalier he detested the Covenant and all its memories; but he was no mere mercenary soldier like Turner and Bellenden. He kept strictly within the limits of his commission, and he carried out his orders with the distinct aim of saving bloodshed in the end. To those who he thought had been led astray, it was his policy not to be unmerciful; for (in his own words) "it renders three desperate where it gains one[2]." On the other hand, in the case of the obdurate, he showed a relentless precision, which gained for him his evil name of the "Bloody Clavers," the commissioned servant of the powers of darkness. Of his methods of proceeding we have a description from his own hand; and the special case to which it refers is one of the best known in the Covenanting martyrology. In the beginning of May, 1685, he and his dragoons were scouring the hills to the west of Douglas in Lanarkshire in search of one John Brown and his nephew. After a long march through the mosses the two men were at length taken. They were without arms and they declared that they possessed none. The usual questions were then put: did they abjure the Apologetical Declaration, and would they swear not to rise in arms against the king? The nephew took the required bonds, but Brown refused, declaring that "he knew no king." Bullets, match and treasonable papers being found in Brown's house, the evidence against him was deemed conclusive; "Whereupon," adds Claverhouse, "I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly." The case of the nephew lying beyond his commission, he passed him on to the proper authorities[3]. With another deplorable incident of the "killing time" Claverhouse had no connection. In the week following the death of John Brown of Priesthill two women,

[1] Napier, *Memorials of the Viscount of Dundee*, III. 437 (the Earl of Moray to Queensberry); Balcarras, "Account of the affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution" (*Somers Tracts*, XI. 517).

[2] Claverhouse to Queensberry (*Buccl. and Queensb. MSS.*, p. 268).

[3] *Buccl. and Queensb. MSS.*, p. 292. In the accounts of Brown's death by Wodrow and Patrick Walker there are details which exhibit Claverhouse in even less pleasant colours than his own narrative. According to Wodrow (IV. 244—5), Claverhouse's dragoons refused to shoot Brown, and he had "to turn executioner himself."

James VII.

Margaret Lauchleson and Margaret Wilson, the one over sixty and the other under twenty, were drowned at Wigtown for refusing to take the oath of abjuration[1]. In this same year, will be remembered, Alice Lisle was condemned to death by Judge Jeffreys for harbouring two fugitives from the field of Sedgemoor.

James's first Scottish Parliament met on April 23rd, William, Duke of Queensberry, acting as Royal Commissioner. In a letter addressed to the assembled Estates he informed them of his chief reason in calling them together: it was, he told them, that they might have an opportunity "of being exemplary to others"—the others being the English Parliament, then on the point of meeting. The Estates were as exemplary as he could have desired. They offered their "lives and fortunes" in his defence, and they pledged themselves to provide a national army whenever and wherever he should require it. As an expressive proof of their loyalty, they attached the excise in perpetuity to the Crown—a grant which had only been made temporarily to his predecessor. Their attitude towards religious recusants was also highly satisfactory. The taking of the Covenants was once more declared to be treason, and another Act was added which went a step beyond all previous Acts against Nonconformity. All persons, preachers or hearers, proved to have been present at a conventicle were henceforth to be punished by death and confiscation. The usual Act passed at the beginning of each reign "for security of the Protestant religion" had a special significance in view of the fact that the new king was an openly professed Roman Catholic[2]. 1685

While the Estates were sitting, a serious attempt was made to overthrow the new king. During the course of the late reign many Scotsmen of rank and influence had been driven to take refuge in Holland—the most notable among them being the Earl of Argyle, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree. In the same country were gathered those English exiles who had identified themselves with the Duke of Monmouth in his plots to oust James from the succession. Between the two sets of exiles it was now arranged that a double attempt should be made on James's kingdom—Argyle to deal with Scotland and Monmouth with England. Argyle sailed on the 2nd of May on the understanding that Monmouth was to land in 1685

[1] That they *were* drowned has been proved by the Rev. Archibald Stewart (*History Vindicated in the case of the Wigtown Martyrs*, 2nd edit., 1869).

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VIII. 455—461.

England within less than a fortnight—an engagement which Monmouth was unable to keep.

From the first, ill-fortune and ill-management doomed Argyle's enterprise to failure. The Government had been aware of the impending invasion and had made its preparations to meet it. To prevent a rising in Argyle's own country, the Marquis of Athole, the hereditary enemy of his house, was quartered there with 500 of his Highlanders. For the national defence the militia, both to the north and the south of the Tay, were ordered to join the king's host by a certain date, and all persons suspected of disaffection were commanded to place themselves in ward. By the date when the ill-fated expedition was ready to sail every precaution had been taken to render it abortive.

1685

A needless delay at the Orkney Islands was the first folly committed by the invaders. At Tobermory in Mull three days more were lost, though from that island they drew a contingent of 300 men. From Campbelton in Cantire Argyle issued a lengthy Declaration, in which he stated the reasons which had led him to seek the overthrow of the Government. The reasons were the same which three years later William of Orange alleged in justification of his enterprise; but neither the hour nor the man had yet come for a successful revolution. The event of the expedition depended on Argyle's raising his own clansmen, but when his son appeared among them not more than 300 rallied to his call. The other main support on which the invaders reckoned was the discontented West, but there also they found that their cause was coldly regarded. The majority of the refractory ministers were in exile; the spirit of their followers had been broken by the failure of the two previous risings; and Argyle as an uncovenanted person was not acceptable to those recusants who would have been readiest to take up arms against the Government.

With this unpromising prospect before him Argyle still lingered in Cantire, though every day diminished his chance of success. He was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck at the head of some 800 men, but when he proposed to utilise his new auxiliaries he encountered a difficulty which eventually proved fatal to his undertaking. There was lying near Inverary a small Royalist force, waiting the arrival of a stronger body led by the Marquis of Athole; and it was Argyle's plan to surprise this detachment before the junction could be effected. But, as the

enterprise had been organised, Argyle had not the sole control of its conduct. He was, in fact, but one member of a Committee of War, in which Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth claimed coequal authority. Cochrane had received encouraging news respecting the disposition of the men of Ayrshire, and he now insisted that in that district and not in Argyleshire the most effective blow could be struck. On the vote being taken it was found that the majority were of the opinion of Cochrane, that in the Lowlands the first attempt should be made. Cochrane had his will, but he soon discovered how far he had been led astray. Government ships were cruising on the coast, and it was with difficulty that he effected a landing at Greenock. Though he made himself master of the town, the inhabitants showed no disposition to rise; and, as the adjoining country was effectually guarded by the royal forces, there was no alternative but to retreat and to join the main body under Argyle.

It now remained to be seen what Argyle could effect in his own country. He resumed his original plan of marching on Inverary, the chief place of his hereditary dominions; but the same chances of success no longer existed, as Athole had now concentrated his forces and occupied the town. Despatching a small body of his troops by land to distract the attention of Athole, he himself prepared to sail up Loch Fyne to Inverary. Again fortune proved adverse. The king's cruisers were on his track; contrary winds delayed him for eight days, and he was forced to take shelter under the Castle of Eilean Dearg, in the Kyles of Bute. Leaving his ships in this shelter, Argyle now marched along the south coast of Loch Fyne, and gained the only advantage of his disastrous enterprise. The contingent which he had sent on before him seized the Castle of Ardkinglass at the head of Loch Fyne, and Athole made an attempt to recover it. The united forces of the invaders inflicted a check on the Royalists; and, encouraged by this success, Argyle determined to attack Inverary on the following day. But precisely at this juncture tidings were brought that the ships left at Eilean Dearg were being seriously menaced by the Government cruisers. If the ships were lost, the cause was lost; and a swift retreat was necessary to save them.

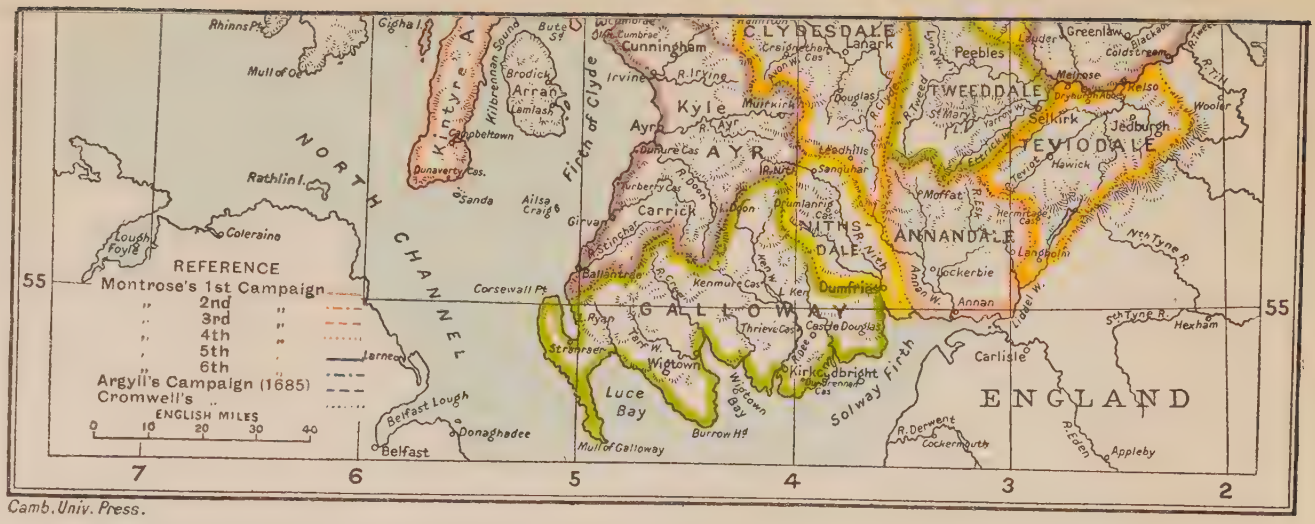
At Eilean Dearg Argyle proposed the bold course of attacking the English squadron, but he was again overborne, and the desperate resolution was taken of marching into the Lowlands. A garrison was left in charge of the ships, which they deserted after

two days, when every vessel fell into the hands of the enemy. Hopeless of any support from the country at large, and at bitter strife among themselves, Argyle and his confederates pursued their march to the low country. Rounding the Gare Loch, they forded the river Leven above Dunbarton, pursued by the enemy twice as numerous as themselves. Their object was to make for Glasgow, but, misled by their guides, they found themselves in Kilpatrick, where their dissensions came to a head. Personal safety now became the sole consideration, and the leaders took their several ways[1]. Argyle, almost unattended, pursued the road to Glasgow, near which an ancient servant of his family refused him hospitality. With but one companion, Major Fullarton, he crossed the Clyde, and had reached Inchinnan on the Cart when they were stopped by a party of countrymen. While Fullarton engaged them in talk, Argyle, who was in disguise, rode up the stream, and had succeeded in crossing it when he was overtaken. His pistol, his only weapon, was useless from wet, and he was at once overpowered, exclaiming as he fell, "Unfortunate Argyle[2]!"

He was at once conveyed to Edinburgh and lodged in the castle, but on this occasion made secure in irons. A trial was deemed unnecessary, for by a perverse consistency it was decided that he already lay under sentence of death on the iniquitous charge on which he had been condemned in the previous reign. Like his father, the marquis, he never showed to greater advantage than in the closing scenes of his life. Without bravado, but with perfect serenity and dignity, he made his account with the world, and with those dearest to him. The day before his death, like other illustrious sufferers, he composed his own epitaph, in which, after touching on his own misfortunes, he expressed the conviction that another hand than his would yet accomplish his country's deliverance. The day of his death found him equally unshaken. It had been his habit to take sleep after his midday meal, and on this his last day he "slept as sweetly and pleasantly as ever he had done." On the scaffold he made the usual address to the

[1] Sir John Cochrane and Sir Patrick Hume crossed the Clyde at the head of a small troop, which was defeated and dispersed at Muirdykes in the parish of Lochwinnoch. Cochrane and Hume both made their escape. Another prominent person in Argyle's enterprise was Colonel Rumbold, an Englishman, who had been deeply engaged in the Newmarket Plot against Charles II. Rumbold stood by Argyle in his differences with Cochrane and Hume, and it was he who captured the Castle of Ardkinglass. He was taken shortly after Argyle and was executed at Edinburgh.

[2] Wodrow, IV. 283—297.



Camb. Univ. Press.

Map showing the campaigns of Montrose, Cromwell, and Argyle, with the old divisions of the country.

assembled multitude, and when he was led to the instrument of death, he exclaimed that it was "the sweetest maiden[1] that he had ever kissed."

Connected with Argyle's invasion is one of the most revolting incidents of the period. In view of his coming it was deemed necessary to lodge in a secure place all persons who were in ward for religious offences. It was decided that Dunnottar Castle, near Stonehaven, was the safest place where they could be bestowed. Accordingly, about 200 of them, mainly from the south and west, were first brought to Edinburgh and thence conveyed through Fife to their destination. On their journey they were treated more like cattle than human beings; and the place that was prepared for them clenches the comparison. About a hundred men and women were shut up in a vault of the castle where they had space neither to lie nor sit. The floor was ankle-deep with mire, and there was but one window for the admittance of air. After some days forty of the men were removed to another vault where the only ventilation was from a chink in the vault, of which they availed themselves by turns. At the instance of the governor's wife, who had caught a sight of the huddled wretches, the women were separated from the men, and the whole party were distributed among the other vaults of the castle. The castle stands on a steep cliff overhanging the sea, and twenty-five of the prisoners made an attempt to escape by the window of the larger vault. Ten succeeded in eluding capture, but those who failed had reason to regret their attempt. Bound and laid upon their backs for the space of three hours, burning matches were placed between their fingers—one of the approved forms of torture of the time. After two months the Council ordered the survivors to be brought to Leith, and offered the alternative of swearing allegiance or being banished to the Plantations. The majority chose the latter alternative[2].

With the year 1686 began James's misunderstandings with his Scottish subjects, which were to end in their decisive rejection of him as their king. It had been with grave misgivings that they had seen a Roman Catholic sovereign mount the throne, and it was not long before these misgivings were convincingly justified. Various indications clearly showed that it was

1686

[1] The maiden was the name of the instrument of execution. It was a rude kind of guillotine.

[2] Wodrow, IV. 322—328. The Register of the Privy Council proves that Wodrow does not exaggerate the barbarities exercised towards the Dunnottar prisoners.

James's deliberate policy to change the religion of the country. It was an ominous sign that the Lord Chancellor James, fourth Earl of Perth, his brother, Viscount Melfort[1], and Alexander, fourth Earl of Moray, the two Secretaries of State, had openly declared themselves converts to the king's religion. As usual, the populace of Edinburgh led the way in testifying its disapproval of religious innovations. On Sunday, the 31st January, there was a rising against the Catholic priests, who now openly held their services, in the course of which the Lord Chancellor was personally insulted[2]. James sent down an indignant letter on the occasion, and a decisive action which he now took proved that he was not to be turned aside from his purpose. On the 29th of April the Parliament began its second session by his express command. Queensberry, the Commissioner of the previous year, had refused to change his religion; and his office had been conferred on the Secretary Melfort, who had been more compliant. In a letter of the king to the Parliament and in the Parliament's reply we have all that is significant in the proceedings that followed. James in his letter announced that he was doing his utmost to bring about free trade between the two countries—a privilege eagerly desired by the Scots, who remembered their brief spell of prosperity under the arrangements made by Cromwell. Immediately following this announcement came the significant part of his letter, to give effect to which the Estates had been expressly summoned. It was a recommendation that the penal laws against his "innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic Religion," should be repealed by the sitting Parliament. The reply of the Parliament was that they would take his recommendation into their "serious and dutiful consideration," and "go as great lengths therein" as their consciences would allow, not doubting at the same time that "his Majesty will be careful to secure the Protestant religion established by law[3]." It was now that James took the step which was to lead straight to his ruin in both kingdoms. With Parliaments he would have no more to do, and henceforward he contented himself with issuing his commands to his Privy Council. In August this body received a royal letter which implied his power to dispense with all laws by the simple assertion of his prerogative. He had asked

[1] He was created Earl of Melfort in 1686.

[2] Fountainball, *Hist. Observes*, 243. The priests "were beginning openly to keep their meetings."

[3] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, VIII. 579—580, 581.

Parliament, he wrote, to abolish the penal laws against Catholics, but this had been a mere act of courtesy on his part, and was wholly unnecessary. He now charged the Council, therefore, to rescind these laws, to permit Catholics the free practice of their religion, and to set apart the Chapel Royal of Holyrood for their special use[1]. As even the Council was recalcitrant, its members required vigorous pruning: eleven Protestants were removed, and Catholics, among whom were the Duke of Gordon and the Earls of Traquair and Seaforth, put in their places[2].

It was an unfortunate juncture at which James was seeking to convert his two kingdoms to Roman Catholicism. In 1685 the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven 1687 to their shores thousands of French Protestants who had strange stories to tell of the tender mercies of a Catholic king[3]. In Scotland, however, the hatred of Rome needed no quickening. The creed adopted by Scotland at the Reformation went further in its divergence from the teaching of Rome than that of any other form of Protestantism. It was, moreover, only after a life and death struggle that the new Church had succeeded in establishing itself as the Church of the nation, and it had ever since been haunted by a dread of a renewal of the battle. The hatred of the Pope was not confined to the Presbyterians: it was fully shared by the great majority of the Episcopalians. When James proposed to abolish the penal laws against Catholics, the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, the most intensely Episcopal part of the kingdom, represented to their bishop the heinousness of such a proceeding; and by the beginning of 1686 the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Archbishop of Glasgow had been deprived for their unsatisfactory attitude towards the king's religion. James could not ignore the alarm he had created among all ranks and all religious classes of his Scottish subjects. In Scotland, therefore, he followed the same policy which he had found necessary in England. The liberty of worship which he was granting to Catholics in the teeth of the law, he now offered to his subjects at large. In three successive Letters of Indulgence he proclaimed his desire that Catholic and Protestant Nonconformists should have an equal measure of liberty to follow their respective modes of worship. The first two letters prescribed

[1] The letter is given by Wodrow (IV. 389—390).

[2] Fountainhall, *Hist. Notices*, 750.

[3] A number of French refugees from Picardy gave their name to a suburb of Edinburgh. Hence the modern Picardy Place.

conditions which the main body of Presbyterians refused to accept. The last letter met their wishes, though its concessions were clogged by the painful concomitant that they were shared by their Catholic fellow-subjects. They were now allowed "to serve God after their own way and manner," provided only that nothing was taught "to alienate the hearts" of subjects from their prince. In a letter, which must have been dictated with conflicting feelings, they thanked the king for his "gracious and surprising favour," though with a subserviency which showed how sorely broken was the ancient Presbyterian spirit[1]. The Indulgence had results of which James little dreamed when he granted it. It brought home the majority of the exiled Presbyterian ministers, and it enabled them to put their Church on a footing which gave it a commanding influence in the coming Revolution. To the followers of Cameron and Renwick the Indulgence could bring no immunities: for them James was no king, and they could make no terms with him short of his demitting the Crown or accepting the Covenants. Conventicles were still under the ban, and the pursuit of those who frequented them was as assiduous as ever. But the day of deliverance was approaching, though one more eminent victim, the last of the long succession, was to avouch his faith on the scaffold.

1688 This last confessor was James Renwick, who had succeeded Richard Cameron as the leader of the remnant who had sworn to the Sanquhar Declaration. He was now only in his twenty-sixth year, but by word and deed he had approved himself worthy of the mantle of Cameron. It was he who had drafted the Apologetical Declaration in which the gauntlet had been thrown down to the Government, and since Cameron's death he had been the only preacher who had continued to defy authority by holding conventicles. A price had long been on his head, but he ventured too boldly at last. At the close of January, 1688, he crossed from Fife to Edinburgh, where he found quarters with a friend who traded in English goods. It was a dangerous corner for an outlaw, as the customs officers were in the habit of visiting it in search of contraband articles. It had come to the ears of one of these officers that a suspicious stranger was in the house; and, guessing who the stranger was, he entered the house early next morning on the pretext of an official visit. Disturbed by the noise, Renwick opened his door and was imme-

[1] Wodrow, IV. 428, note.

diately recognised. On attempting to escape by another egress he found the way blocked, when he drew a pistol and fired. The shot took no effect, but it cleared the way, and he broke through his assailants, sustaining a severe blow as he passed them. Though crippled by the blow he rushed down the street, falling several times as he went. But bareheaded as he was, he was a marked figure, and he was speedily surrounded and overpowered. He had been a desperate offender against the constituted authorities, but the more moderate of the Council were sick of blood, and he was offered his life if he would acknowledge the Government. To have accepted life on such conditions would have made him contemptible for ever in the eyes of those to whom he had been a revered apostle; and, though he showed signs that life was not indifferent to him, he firmly stood by his testimony. Scotland "must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come" were among his last words from the scaffold. A deliverance was indeed at hand, but it was a deliverance which the followers of Renwick did not find it in their consciences to accept[1].

II. The Revolution.

The process of de-Protestantising the country went on apace and in the eyes of all men. The number and character of the converts to Catholicism gave both alarm and diversion to the sound Protestants in Edinburgh. The baptism of a mountebank, named Reid, and of one of his blackamoor troupe, excited the ridicule of the town[2]. It was no matter of amusement, however, that the Privy Council was gradually being manned with Catholics, that a Catholic press was set up in Holyrood under the management of the pamphleteer Sir Roger l'Estrange, and that Protestant publishers were systematically prosecuted if they ventured to print a word against the king's religion[3]. 1688

The birth of an heir to the throne (June 30, 1688) created the same alarm in Scotland as in England. Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike realised that the fate of Protestantism was no longer doubtful if some unforeseen event did not intervene[4]. A Catholic father succeeded by a Catholic son could, as things were going, have but one result. For a suitable deliverer, therefore, Scotland

[1] Wodrow, IV. 445—454.

[2] Fountainball, *Hist. Notices*, 774.

[3] *Ibid.* 816; Wodrow, 371.

[4] Balcarras (*Somers Tracts*, XI. 491). Balcarras's narrative was written expressly for James after the Revolution.

was as ready as England. It was on September 18th that the country received its first public intimation of the enterprise of William of Orange. On that day the Privy Council published a proclamation calling on all the eastern counties as far north as Forfar to be in arms by the 25th, and ordering beacons to be set on all prominent places along the east coast. By an order of James, which filled his supporters with dismay and the country at large with sanguine hopes, the most effective portion of the forces raised were summoned to England in the beginning of October[1]. On the 10th of the same month William issued a special address to the people of Scotland in which he offered himself as their deliverer from all the tyrannies of their present ruler[2]. The Council forbade its publication, but in the intractable west it was widely disseminated. As one man, the Presbyterians welcomed the promised deliverance, and their ministers were now at their back to stimulate their zeal. The Episcopalians, on the other hand, were in a painful dilemma. William was not a champion after their heart. In his manifesto he had not committed himself to the approval of any form of Church government, but he came from Holland, where there were no bishops, and where the Presbyterian exiles had found a hospitable home. On the whole, between William and James, both loyalty and interest disposed them to choose the latter. The terror of the invasion might have taught James a lesson which he would thenceforth lay to heart. When the news came, therefore, that William's first attempt to reach England had failed, the Scottish bishops sent a letter of enthusiastic loyalty to James in which they told him among other things that he was "the darling of heaven[3]."

On the 18th of December William took possession of Whitehall, and on the 23rd James quitted England for ever. In Scotland events kept equal pace with their progress in England. The Privy Council alone represented authority in the country, but with James's falling fortunes it was terrorised from without and hopelessly divided within. By the beginning of December Edinburgh was swarming with supporters of William, who openly deliberated "as if they had been allowed by authority[4]." As in England, James's special supporters made no serious effort to retrieve the cause of their master. A tumult on the 10th of

1688

[1] Balcarras (*Somers Tracts*, XI. 495).

[2] Wodrow, IV. 470.

[3] *Ibid.* 468, note.

[4] Balcarras (*Somers Tracts*, XI. 495).

December frightened the Lord Chancellor Perth from the city[1]. It was to be expected that in the existing anarchy the Catholic Chapel at Holyrood would have the special attention of the Edinburgh populace. Holyrood was guarded by a few soldiers under Captain Wallace; but aided by the train-bands the mob put them to rout, and straightway made havoc of everything that pertained to the idolatrous service. To the Presbyterians of the west, likewise, the fall of the Government brought their hour of triumph. *Their* enemies were those curates who, as the official clergy, were identified in their minds with all their sufferings of the last twenty-six years. Christmas Day was chosen for the beginning of the visitation. From their manses and churches and parishes the curates were unceremoniously ejected, with the strict injunction never to appear in their respective neighbourhoods. No blood was shed, but it was the dead of winter, and, as above two hundred households were evicted, there were many cases of privation and actual misery. That the Cameronians were content with mere "rabbling" and eviction, however, proves that their words were fiercer than their deeds.

As soon as it was known that James had left the country there was a rush to London of all ranks and classes, Episcopalian and Presbyterian alike[2]. At the request of some thirty nobles and eighty gentlemen, William agreed to summon a meeting of the Scottish Estates which might give expression to the mind of the country. Since the Restoration the elections to the Parliament had been so manipulated that the Government could always reckon on an overwhelming majority. On the present occasion both the supporters of James and of William brought their influence to bear on the choice of representatives; but, as things now stood, the advantage lay decisively with the latter. The Convention (the name was familiar in Scotland) met on March 14th, 1689, and in circumstances that for a time left it doubtful which party should prevail. The Castle of Edinburgh was held for James by the Duke of Gordon, and could effectually have stopped the Convention had its keeper been so minded. More formidable to the cause of William was Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee by James immediately before his flight. Dundee had held intercourse with William in London[3], 1689

[1] He was taken in the attempt to escape to the Continent, and kept a prisoner for four years.

[2] Balcarras, 501.

[3] Napier, *Memorials*, III. 496; Burnet, IV. 39.

but so notable an instrument of the late Government could hardly have felt himself comfortable under the new. He had been allowed to come down to Scotland with a troop of some sixty horse, and his presence in Edinburgh was a serious menace to the opposite party. On their part, the thorough-going supporters of William had secretly introduced bodies of armed men from the west who might be ready for action if occasion should arise.

The first business of the Convention was the choice of a President, as William, not yet acknowledged as king, could not appoint a Commissioner. It was felt by both sides that the choice would decide the future proceedings of the assembly. The Duke of Athole as a neutral person was put up by the Jacobites, and the Duke of Hamilton by the supporters of William. Hamilton was elected only by a majority of fifteen, but the result took the heart out of the friends of the late king. Two days later the relative confidence and strength of the two parties was again put to the test. Both William and James had addressed letters to the Convention, but while William's was at once read without a demur, it was voted that before James's was opened it should be declared that nothing it contained should invalidate the legality of the Convention. To this declaration even Dundee agreed—a stain on his scutcheon, which his own signature avouches[1]. Dundee, however, had resolved to have no further part in proceedings which could only end in conclusions as disastrous to his own fortunes as to those of his late master. He told the Convention what was extremely probable, that he was threatened with assassination; and, as he thought his complaint was slighted, he rode out of the town at the head of his troop. As he passed the castle he had an interview with Gordon which alarmed the majority of the Convention. Thinking the crisis had come, they called forth the armed partisans who had been hidden in the town; but Dundee went on his way, and civil war was averted for the time. It had been proposed that a rival Convention should be held at Stirling; but of the Jacobite nobles then assembled in the capital only one accompanied Dundee.

1689

On the 11th of April, nearly a month after its sitting, the Convention made a formal "Declaration" regarding the vacant throne. It consisted of two parts, a Claim of Right and an offer of the Crown to William and Mary. The right that was claimed was the constitutional power of the Estates to dethrone a ruler who had

[1] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, IX. 8.

violated the laws of his kingdom. Fifteen cases were adduced in which James was alleged to have broken the constitution—the head and front of his offending being that he had assumed the regal power without taking the Coronation oath. On these grounds it was declared that he had "forefaulted" the Crown, and that the throne was now vacant. Formal offer of the Crown was then made to William and Mary, and the succession settled upon the heirs of Mary, the Princess Anne of Denmark and her heirs, and, failing all these, the heirs of William. To convey the offer of the Estates to the two sovereigns commission was given to the Earl of Argyle, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, and Sir John Dalrymple, as representatives of the peers, barons, and burghs respectively. The ceremony took place at Whitehall on the 11th of May. According to the Scottish fashion William and Mary repeated the words of the Coronation oath[1] after Argyle, who recited them. At the clause which bound the sovereign to be "careful to root out all heretics," William paused and declared that he would not come under an obligation to be a persecutor. The words having been explained to his satisfaction, he took the oath, and called on those standing by to witness that he had done so.

Scotland had thus cast out its ancient line of princes, though without the example and aid of England the task would have been beyond her strength. On the other hand, but for the resources of England behind them, James VI and his three successors could not have maintained a rule in Scotland, which virtually made it a dependency of the larger kingdom. With the exception of the twelve years' triumph of the Covenants, Scotland since the union of the Crowns had, in James VI's words, been governed with the king's pen. Throughout the whole period, however, there had been a continuous protest on the part of the Presbyterian clergy. To the divine right of kings they had steadfastly opposed the divine origin of Presbytery; and it had been proved by the experience of a century that political equilibrium was impossible while these two notions divided the mind of the country. The main result of the Revolution for Scotland was that it annihilated these hopeless antinomies; and it effected this result in the only way that was possible —by the gradual substitution of the secular for the theological spirit in the conduct of public affairs.

[1] The oath will be found in Vol. IX. (App. p. 127) of the *Acts of Parl. of Scotland.*

III. Social Condition of the Country (1625—1689).

The political conditions of the last three reigns had not been conducive to the general development of the country. Even before Charles I's open breach with his subjects in 1638, Scotland as well as England had suffered from his conflict with France and Spain and his entanglements with the Thirty Years' War. By the year 1630 the Scottish Privy Council had to report that the Exchequer was empty and that public business had come to a deadlock for want of money to carry it on. During the twelve years' ascendency of the Presbyterians the state of affairs was not more favourable to the growth of trade and industry. There were indications of returning prosperity during the Government of the Commonwealth and Protectorate that brought free trade with England and general quietude to the country, but to this promising new departure the Restoration gave a fatal check. The exorbitant grant made to the Crown by the first Restoration Parliament was an incubus on the nation till the Revolution, while the wars of Charles II with Holland and the abolition of free trade with England cut off the chief outlets for the most important of Scottish home products.

During the period from the accession of Charles I to the Revolution Scotland was visited by a succession of English travellers who supply us with some interesting notes of their impressions of the country. In estimating the value of their testimony, however, a reserve must be made: these travellers naturally tested everything they saw by the standard of things English, a criterion manifestly unjust to the poorer country. What struck them all in the general aspect of Scotland was the absence of trees and the absence of enclosures. In the Lowlands, says one, you may travel a hundred miles and not meet with a single tree. This was an exaggeration, but the lack of timber had long taxed the ingenuity of the Legislature. James VI had sagely proposed to stop the exportation of Scottish timber; and the Privy Council had to remind him that within the memory of men no timber had been exported from Scotland, and that if foreign countries were to adopt a retaliatory policy, Scotland would have the worst of the bargain. For the absence of all manner of fences we have a simple explanation in the fact that the universal system of short leases made it no interest of the tenant to erect them.

Another circumstance that struck the Southron was the diligence with which all arable land had been utilised: Scotland appeared

to them emphatically a "corn-growing" country. On the other hand, little pasture was grown, and the general want of hay called forth frequent maledictions on Scotsmen and their land. Then, as to-day, it was Galloway and the Highlands that largely supplied the Lowlands with cattle and sheep. Oats and barley were the chief crops, but peas, beans, and wheat, in small quantities, were also grown. According to the most intelligent of all these 17th century travellers, however, the chief agricultural industry was hemp, of which, he says, the Scots "have a mighty burden," and produce from it "the most noted and beneficial manufacture of the kingdom." The only manures in use were lime and sea-weed, the latter of which excited the ridicule of the strangers. The most fertile and highly cultivated parts of the country were those which maintain the same reputation at the present day. Moray was regarded as the garden of Scotland, and slightly behind it came Angus, the Carse of Gowrie, the banks of the Forth, parts of Fife, Lothian, Clydesdale, and the Merse. In the neighbourhood of towns, also, it was noted that the ground was assiduously cultivated. The general bareness of the country was relieved by the frequency of gentlemen's seats, which were specially numerous near the capital and some other large towns. It was only in connection with these country-houses that fruits were reared, though orchards were to be met with in different parts of the country. From gentlemen's gardens gooseberries, currants, and strawberries occasionally found their way to the public markets.

The houses of the lairds and nobles gave the impression of having been built for security rather than comfort, though such as were of more recent date gave indications of taste both in their architecture and furnishings. The public roads, it would seem, were no worse than those of England ; at least, it is the testimony of the most splenetic of all the tourists that the state of the highways was "the greatest comfort" the country had to afford. On the other hand, in spite of all the efforts of the executive for centuries past, a comfortable inn was hardly to be found. At such inns as there were there was no accommodation for horses, which had to be bestowed with some neighbouring stabler. As we learn from Acts of Parliament, the lack of provision for travellers was due to the fact that when the Scottish gentry had occasion to make lengthened journeys they found hospitality with kinsmen and friends by the way. In 1689 the only horse-posts were those that ran from Edinburgh to Berwick and Portpatrick in connection

with England and Ireland. There were no stage-coaches, but a horse and man could be hired for two English pennies a mile[1]. Only a few of the higher nobles and bishops had coaches of their own.

The slovenly habits of the Scots evoked the most biting sarcasms from their English visitors. "The sluttishness and nastiness of this people is such," writes one, who is otherwise not an unfriendly critic, "that I cannot omit the particularising thereof, though I have more than sufficiently often touched upon the same: their houses, and halls, and kitchens have such a noisome taste, a savour, and that so strong, as it doth offend you so soon as you come within their wall[2]." The houses of the peasantry were such as may still be seen in outlying parts of Scotland—mere mud cabins, thatched with turf, without window or chimney, the door alone admitting light and air. As distinguished from the same class in England, the Scottish peasantry wore bonnets (generally blue) instead of hats, and plaids instead of cloaks. When the women went to church or market they covered their heads and shoulders with a plaid—a garb also worn by ladies when they did not wish to be recognised. Beer was the general drink of the poorer classes; broth and bannocks made of oatmeal their principal diet. Of these necessaries there was a rough abundance, which, if common in England, was assuredly not common in contemporary France. Among the upper classes the dress and style of living did not greatly differ from the standard of England[3]. With what luxury and elegance a Scottish noble could surround himself was to be seen in Leslie House, built by the Commissioner Rothes in the reign of Charles II. Within and without its equipments excited the admiration even of the captious Englishman already quoted. As for the lairds or lesser barons, here is the bill of fare presented to one of our travellers by Sir James Pringle of Gala House: barley broth, powdered beef, mutton roasted and boiled, venison pie, goose, and cheese, with beer during the feast and "hot waters" at its close. Though beer is specified as the drink on this occasion, French wines were the common beverage of the well-to-do classes, and all the English visitors testify that they found them better and cheaper than in their own country.

The two leading towns were Edinburgh and Glasgow, with

[1] During the Protectorate stage-coaches ran regularly between Edinburgh and London.

[2] Sir William Brereton (1636).

[3] A large proportion of the Scottish nobility went to France and even to Italy to complete their education.

Aboyne Castle. Western part built in 1671.

populations of 60,000 and 30,000 respectively. In Edinburgh what impressed all visitors, alike from England and the Continent, was the length and spaciousness of the High Street. It greatly detracted from its effect, however, that there were few or no glazed windows, and that the houses were faced with wooden boards perforated with holes through which the inmates thrust their heads in unseemly fashion. The concurrent testimony gave Glasgow the first place among Scottish towns for beauty and attractiveness. With its four streets in the form of a cross, its cathedral and tolbooth (both the finest in the country), and its noble river spanned by a bridge of many arches and as yet uncontaminated, it reminded fastidious Englishmen of the pleasantest sights of their own land. Among other towns noted for their attractiveness were Hamilton, Perth, Dumfries, and Dundee, though the last long bore the marks of General Monk's rough handling.

Regarding the trade of Scotland we have a precise statement by Thomas Tucker, a Commissioner sent down by the Protectorate n 1655 to report on the excise and customs. He found the trade of the country almost exclusively confined to the seaports, of which he enumerates only eight as being of any account—Glasgow and Ayr on the west coast; Leith, Borrowstoneness, Burntisland, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness on the east. Leith came first in importance, and Glasgow second—the chief commodities exported being salt, coal, plaiding, and salmon. The countries with which trade was mainly carried on were Holland, Denmark, Norway, and France. Before Tucker's visit Glasgow had made ventures as far as the Barbados, but the result had not been encouraging, and she was now restricting herself to less costly enterprises. The seaports along the coast of Fife are described as "pitiful small towns," Dundee as "not contemptible," and New Aberdeen as "no despicable burgh." Connected with the backwardness of trade was the unsatisfactory state of the currency. The coins in common circulation were mostly foreign—various kinds of dollars being specially numerous. During the last three reigns Parliament and Privy Council had passed fruitless laws against the importation of foreign coins, and at the date of the Revolution the evil seems to have been greater than ever. "Money of their own coining they have little for want of bullion," writes one in 1689. Trade both on a large and a small scale was seriously affected by the existing abuses: from the lack of small coins the poorer classes found it difficult to carry on their marketing, while in larger transactions the

passing of the foreign money at a rate far above its intrinsic value gave rise to an amount of dishonest dealing which turned trade into a game of sharp practice.

The frightful nightmare of witchcraft which had ridden Scotland since the Reformation could not escape the notice of the most casual foreign observer. "At the time we were in Scotland" (1662), writes an English visitor, "divers women were burnt for witches; they reported to the number of about one hundred and twenty." At the establishment of Protestantism in 1560 death and confiscation of goods had been adjudged as the penalty of saying and hearing mass; but in point of fact only one Roman Catholic, the Jesuit Ogilvie[1], had actually been awarded the crown of martyrdom. This is a pleasing record compared with that of every other Christian country, but if Scottish Protestants were thus merciful towards those whom they considered idolaters, they showed no such relentings towards those whom they deemed direct traffickers with the powers of darkness. It was three years after the change of the national religion that an Act was passed ordaining the penalty of death for "any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, or necromancy[2]"; and of all Acts ever sanctioned by the Scottish Legislature this was the one which received the most exemplary obedience from all parties responsible for its execution. Of all these parties, however, it was the ministers, Presbyterian and Episcopalian alike, who laboured most faithfully that the law should not remain a dead letter. With the terrible literalism of their Biblical exegesis they read the text "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and with holy horror and unflinching conviction they carried out the Divine command. The atrocious enactment kept its place in the statute-book till 1736; of its victims it is impossible to fix the number even approximately, but it is by thousands and not by hundreds that they must be reckoned. The method of procedure against the persons accused proves that all ranks and classes in the country were equally involved in the monstrous delusion. When anyone (the great majority were women) was suspected of devilish practices, he was "delated" to the minister and Kirk Session of his parish, who subjected him to a searching examination. If his guilt appeared probable, application was made to the Privy Council for a special commission to try the

[1] Regarding Ogilvie see *ante*, p. 213.

[2] *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, II. 539. The year before a similar Act had been passed in England.

case. Usually the Council made no difficulty about granting the desired commission, which was chosen from the leading gentlemen of the neighbourhood. In the great majority of cases the verdict was "guilty," and this for sufficiently cogent reasons. If the jury themselves were not predisposed to assume guilt, their zeal was quickened by public opinion, and specially by the ministers who had committed themselves to a judgement by the application for a commission. By the appliance of torture, moreover, the accused was forced into confessions, the grotesque absurdity of which was interpreted as the most convincing evidence of their reality. The punishment of the condemned was to be strangled at the stake and burned. Not unfrequently the victims brought accusations against other persons in the neighbourhood, who as often as not shared the fate of their accusers. Occasionally, also, unscrupulous persons to revenge themselves on their enemies would bring against them the dreaded charge with the certainty that they would suffer either in life or reputation. It was one of the many good fruits of the Protectorate in Scotland that it brought a slackening in the pursuit and punishment of witches. At no period, however, were the wretches sought out and visited so mercilessly as in the years that followed the Restoration—the result, it was said, of the mistaken mercy of the Cromwellian judges. After the Revolution the number of victims gradually diminished, and the last execution for witchcraft in Scotland is usually said to have been that of an old woman in Dornoch in Sutherland in 1722[1].

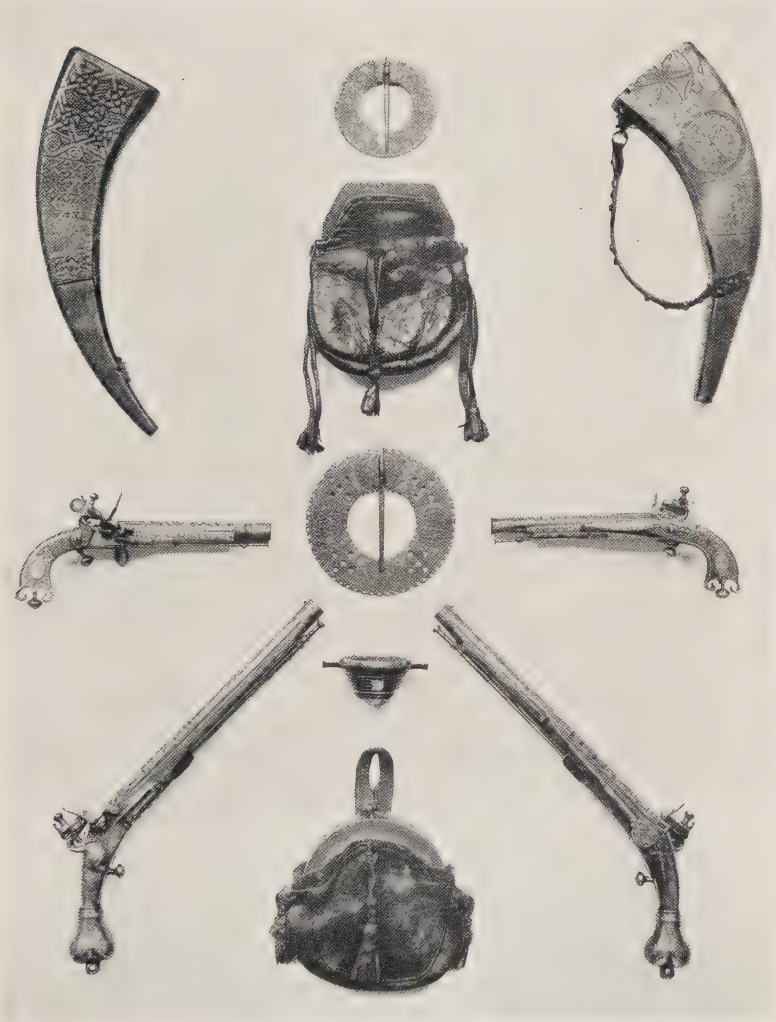
The assiduity of the Church in the suppression of witchcraft is only one instance of its strenuous supervision of the life of the nation. It was from the close of the Second Bishops' War till the invasion of Cromwell that the Presbyterian system was in its fullest development and its most vigorous force. As the political as well as the spiritual masters of the situation, the ministers could now bring the complete machinery of the Church to bear upon the nation with an efficiency for which they had hitherto vainly striven even in the years that followed the Reformation. Surrounded by his deacons and his elders, the minister of the parish discharged the functions of religious teacher and censor of manners which were inherent in his office. It was the duty of the deacons to look after the interests of the poor, for whom a collection was

[1] Captain Burt, however, notes a case in 1727. The last trial for witchcraft in England took place at Hereford in 1712. The person accused, Jane Wenham, was convicted, but the law did not take its full course.

made each Sunday before the sermon. The obligations of the elders were more exacting: to each of them was assigned a special part of the parish, for the exemplary behaviour of which he was held responsible. In the list of offences which he had to report were drunkenness, profane language, slander, fornication, adultery, and general neglect of Church ordinances. The penalties inflicted on offenders were on the ascending scale of private and public reprimands, pillory or "the stool of repentance" in a public part of the church, and finally, in desperate cases, excommunication. The records of various Presbyteries that have been preserved afford lively evidence that the duties of the Scottish elder of the 17th century must have been onerous.

The civil and religious troubles in England did not prevent the production of works of literary genius by both Puritans and Cavaliers. To similar troubles, therefore, it cannot be due that no such works were forthcoming in Scotland. Learned men she possessed in abundance, but no poet or prose-writer whose works have taken their place among British classics. In the Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie there are passages which for vividness and insight may compare with anything in Clarendon; but, invaluable though his three volumes are for the history of his time, their general quality has not preserved them as literature. The religious writings of Samuel Rutherford and Archbishop Leighton still appeal to a certain class of readers, but they do not rank with the great English divines in uniform beauty of style and sanity and depth of thought. In the field of pure literature, the translation of the first three books of Rabelais by the fantastic Sir Thomas Urquhart is the only production of the period that has attracted the attention of the modern student.

In Scotland as in England the development of the Universities was seriously retarded by the prolonged national quarrel. In all of them the two great parties in the quarrel had their representatives, whose dissensions distracted them from their duties as teachers and organisers. Covenanters and Loyalists alike showed a laudable desire for the advance of higher studies; but, even if they could have worked in harmony, the economic condition of the country hardly permitted the liberal endowment of the Universities. With such means as were at their disposal, however, the four Universities kept well abreast of the learning of the time, for in the 17th as in the 16th century Scotsmen did not consider their education finished till they had sat at the feet of the most distinguished continental



17th century Pistols, Sporrans, etc.

scholars. The "Aberdeen doctors" extended the fame of their University beyond the limits of Scotland: to Glasgow came crowds of the sons of English Nonconformists who were debarred from Oxford and Cambridge; and Edinburgh saw the beginning of its famous medical school in the establishment of a Physic Garden (1675) and the foundation of the College of Physicians (1685).

The establishment of a school in every parish, which had been the aim of Knox and his brother reformers, had not been fully realised even at the date of the Revolution. The ideal, however, had never been lost sight of; and probably there was no peasantry in Europe more generally intelligent than the peasantry of Scotland. In the case of the western population we have a striking testimony from the historian Burnet, who with five other Episcopal divines was commissioned to preach in the vacant churches. "We were indeed amazed," he says, "to see a poor commonalty so capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of princes in matters of religion: upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand; and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers, and their servants[1]." To this religious discipline as much as to the parish school has been due that

> Stately speech,
> Such as grave livers do in Scotland use,
> Religious men, who give to God and Man their dues[2].

In the foregoing narrative we have traversed a period covering nearly a century and a half of the history of the Scottish people. It is a period clearly distinguishable alike from the time that went before and the time that was to come after. Its essential characteristic was that, from first to last, religion was the dominating force in determining the national development. But this period is

[1] Burnet, I. 507—8.—The contemporary testimony of Defoe is to the same effect: "in a whole church full of people," he says, "not one shall be seen without a Bible, a custom almost forgotten in England: on the other hand, in a church in Scotland, if you shut your eyes when the minister names any text of Scripture, you shall hear a little rustling noise over the whole place, made by turning the leaves of the Bible."—*Memoirs of the Church of Scotland* (1717), p. 332.

[2] Sir Walter Scott, speaking of the Scottish peasantry, whom he knew so well, has the following passage in his Introduction to the *Antiquary*: "The antique force and simplicity of their language, often tinctured with the Oriental eloquence of Scripture, in the mouths of those of an elevated understanding, give pathos to their grief and dignity to their resentment."

itself divisible into two distinct stages. During the first stage the country was mainly occupied in deciding whether Protestantism or Roman Catholicism was to be the national religion; and the victory of Protestantism was not finally assured till the capture of Edinburgh Castle by the Regent Morton in 1573 cut off all hopes of Mary's return to Scotland. Under Mary's four immediate successors on the throne, and under the Commonwealth, the nation had another problem to solve, another struggle to fight through to the end. In this stage, also, religion was at the root of the great controversy which was carried on for a full century between the nation and its rulers. If Presbyterian Scotland believed that its creed and polity were alike of Divine origin, its rulers, with no less strength of conviction, claimed a similar origin for the regal authority—positions, be it noted, which were incompatible, nay, mutually destructive. In such conditions, as has been more than once said, the normal relations of prince and subject were impossible. Nor was it the mere expulsion of James VII that rescued the nation from its dilemma. Had the majority of the Scottish people remained bound to the traditions of Knox and Andrew Melville, as did the followers of Cameron and Cargill, the long struggle would only have been renewed under William of Orange. But, in point of fact, when the Revolution came, the spirit that had produced the two Covenants was no longer the prevailing force in the country. The experience which the nation had undergone since the Restoration had engendered a spirit of compromise which reduced religious considerations to a secondary place in the Revolution settlement. The Revolution, in truth, marks the definitive triumph of the secular over the theological spirit in the conduct of public affairs; and, so far as Scotland is concerned, in this fact lies its main significance in the national history.

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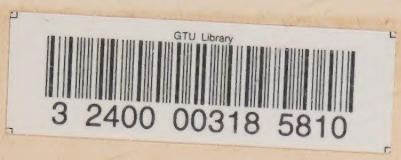
Map showing the Highland Clans in the sixteenth Century.

(*Based on Stewart of Garth's Map.*)



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